skins and was about sixteen feet in diameter. The lower 342
edge of the lodge proper was fastened, by wooden pegs, to
within an inch or two of the ground. Inside, a lining, made
of brightly painted cowskin, reached from the ground to a
height of five or six feet. An air space of the thickness of the
lodge poles — two or three inches — was thus left between
the lining and the lodge covering, and the cold air, rushing
up through it from the outside, made a draft, which aided
the ears in freeing the lodge of smoke. The door was three
or four feet high and was covered by a flap of skin, which
hung down on the outside. Thus made, with plenty of
buffalo robes for seats and bedding, and a good stock of
firewood, a lodge was very comfortable, even in the coldest
weather.

It was not uncommon to decorate the outside of the [532]
lodge with buffalo tails and brightly painted pictures of [237]
animals. Inside, the space around was partitioned off into
couches, or seats, each about six feet in length. At the foot 353
and head of every couch, a mat, made of straight, peeled willow [352]
twigs, fastened side by side, was suspended on a tripod at
an angle of forty-five degrees, so that between the couches
spaces were left like an inverted V, thus Λ, making convenient
places to store articles which were not in use. The [554]
owner of the lodge always occupied the seat or couch at the
back of the lodge, directly opposite the door-way, the places
on his right being occupied by his wives and daughters;
though sometimes a Blackfoot had so many wives that they
occupied the whole lodge. The places on his left were reserved [576]
for his sons and visitors. When a visitor entered a [554]
lodge, he was assigned a seat according to his rank, — the
nearer to the host, the greater the honor.

Bows were generally made of ash wood, which grows east 411
of the mountains toward the Sand Hills. When for any 824
reason they could not obtain ash, they used the wood of
the choke-cherry tree, but this had not strength nor spring

If he cannot do so, the things are still presented; for, in the 583
case of a marriage, the relations on both sides are anxious to 184
do all that they can to give the young people a good start in
life. When all is ready, the girl goes to the lodge where her 556
husband lives, and goes in. If this lodge is too crowded to 585
receive the couple, the young man will make arrangements [602]
for space in the lodge of a brother, cousin, or uncle, where
there is more room. These are all his close relations, and [591]
he is welcome in any of their lodges, and has rights there.

Sometimes, if two young people are fond of each other, 583
and there is no prospect of their being married, they may 606
take riding horses and a pack horse, and elope at night, going
to some other camp for a while. This makes the girl's
father angry, for he feels that he has been defrauded of his
payments. The young man knows that his father-in-law
bears him a grudge, and if he afterwards goes to war and is
successful, returning with six or seven horses, he will send
them all to the camp where his father-in-law lives, to be
tied in front of his lodge. This at once heals the breach,
and the couple may return. Even if he has not been successful
in war and brought horses, which of course he does
not always accomplish, he from time to time sends the old
man a present, the best he can. Notwithstanding these
efforts at conciliation, the parents feel very bitterly against
him. The girl has been stolen. The union is no marriage
at all. The old people are ashamed and disgraced for their
daughter. Until the father has been pacified by satisfactory
payments, there is no marriage. Moreover, unless the [554] ●
young man had made a payment, or at least had endeavored
to do so, he would be little thought of among his fellows,
and looked down on as a poor creature without any sense of
honor.

The Blackfeet take as many wives as they wish; but these 595
ceremonies are only carried out in the case of the first 585
wife, the "sits-beside-him" woman. In the case of subse-

595 wives, and does little except to direct the others in their
[554] work, and look after the comfort of her husband. Her place
in the lodge is on his right-hand side, while the others have
their places or seats near the door-way. This wife is even
allowed at informal gatherings to take a whiff at the pipe,
as it is passed around the circle, and to participate in the
conversation.

595 In the old days, it was a very poor man who did not
556 have three wives. Many had six, eight, and some more than
a dozen. I have heard of one who had sixteen. In those
178 times, provided a man had a good-sized band of horses, the
more wives he had, the richer he was. He could always
find young men to hunt for him, if he furnished the mounts,
and, of course, the more wives he had, the more robes and
furs they would tan for him.

586 If, for any cause, a man wished to divorce himself from a woman, he had but to send her back to her parents and demand the price paid for her, and the matter was accomplished. The woman was then free to marry again, provided her parents were willing.

587 When a man dies, his wives become the potential wives of
428 his oldest brother. Unless, during his life, he has given
them outright horses and other property, at his death they
are entitled to none of his possessions. If he has sons, the
property is divided among them, except a few horses, which
are given to his brothers. If he has no sons, all the property goes to his brothers, and if there are no brothers, it
goes to the nearest male relatives on the father's side.

567 The Blackfeet cannot be said to have been slave-holders.
562 It is true that the Crees call the Blackfeet women "Little
Slaves." But this, as elsewhere suggested, may refer to the
593 region whence they originally came, though it is often
explained that it is on account of the manner in which the
Blackfeet treat their women, killing them or mutilating their
features for adultery and other serious offences.

224 point over the enclosure. When they reached it, most of the animals were pushed over, and usually even the last of the band plunged blindly down into the pis'kun. Many were killed outright by the fall; others had broken legs or broken backs, while some perhaps were uninjured. The barricade, however, prevented them from escaping, and all were soon killed by the arrows of the Indians.

It is said that there was another way to get the buffalo into this chute. A man who was very skilful in arousing the buffalo's curiosity, might go out without disguise, and by wheeling round and round in front of the herd, appearing and disappearing, would induce them to move toward him, [554] when it was easy to entice them into the chute. Once there, the people began to rise up behind them, shouting and waving their robes, and the now terror-stricken animals rushed ahead, and were driven over the cliff into the pis'kun, where all were quickly killed and divided among the people, the chiefs and the leading warrior getting the best and fattest animals.

The pis'kun was in use up to within thirty-five or forty years, and many men are still living who have seen the buffalo driven over the cliff. Such men even now speak with enthusiasm of the plenty that successful drives brought to the camp.

184 The pis'kuns of the Sik'-si-kau, or Blackfoot tribe, differed 224 in some particulars from those constructed by the Bloods and the Piegans, who live further to the south, nearer to the mountains, and so in a country which is rougher and more [171] broken. The Sik'-si-kau built their pis'kuns like the Crees, on level ground and usually near timber. A large pen or corral was made of heavy logs about eight feet high. On the side where the wings of the chute come together, a bridge, or causeway, was built, sloping gently up from the prairie to the walls of the corral, which at this point were cut away to the height of the bridge above the ground,—here about four

721 continued for about seventy-five or eighty years, and has
[178] only been abandoned within the last six or seven, and since
the settlement of the country by the whites made it impossible
for the Blackfeet longer to pass backward and forward
through it on their raiding expeditions. Horse-taking at
once became what might be called an established industry
● [554] among the Blackfeet. Success brought wealth and fame,
and there was a pleasing excitement about the war journey.
Except during the bitterest weather of the winter, war
parties of Blackfeet were constantly out, searching for
camps of their enemies, from whom they might capture
horses. Usually the only object of such an expedition was
to secure plunder, but often enemies were killed, and sometimes
the party set out with the distinct intention of taking
both scalps and horses.

648 Until some time after they had obtained guns, the Blackfeet
726 were on excellent terms with the northern Crees, but later
the Chippeways from the east made war on the Blackfeet,
and this brought about general hostilities against all Crees,
which have continued up to within a few years. If I recollect
aright, the last fight which occurred between the Pikun'-i
[123] and the Crees took place in 1886. In this skirmish,
which followed an attempt by the Crees to capture some
Piegan horses, my friend, Tail-feathers-coming-in-sight-over-the-Hill,
killed and counted *coup* on a Cree whose scalp he
afterward sent me, as an evidence of his prowess.

The Gros Ventres of the prairie, of Arapaho stock, known to the Blackfeet as *At-séna*, or Gut People, had been friends and allies of the Blackfeet from the time they first came into the country, early in this century, up to about the year 1862, when, according to Clark, peace was broken through a mistake.[1] A war party of Snakes had gone to a Gros Ventres camp near the Bear Paw Mountains and there killed two Gros Ventres and taken a white pony, which they subse-

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[1] Indian Sign Language, p. 70.

796 purpose of this annual ceremony. It has been supposed
182 that it was for the purpose of making warriors. This is not
true. It was essentially a religious festival, undertaken for the bodily and spiritual welfare of the people according to their beliefs. Incidentally, it furnished an opportunity for the rehearsal of daring deeds. But among no tribes who practised it were warriors made by it. The swinging by the breast and other self-torturings were but the fulfilment of vows, sacred promises made in time of danger, penances performed, and not, as many believe, an occasion for young men to test their courage.

554 From the Indians of the tribe, the Medicine Lodge woman
796 receives a very high measure of respect and consideration. Blackfoot men have said to me, "We look on the Medicine Lodge woman as you white people do on the Roman Catholic sisters." Not only is she virtuous in deed, but she must be serious and clean-minded. Her conversation must be sober.

276 Before the coming of the whites, the Blackfeet used to smoke the leaves of a plant which they call *na-wuh'-to-ski*, and which is said to have been received long, long ago from a medicine beaver. It was used unmixed with any other plant. The story of how this came to the tribe is told else-
[178] where.[1] This tobacco is no longer planted by the Piegans, nor by the Bloods, though it is said that an old Blackfoot each year still goes through the ceremony, and raises a little. The plant grows about ten inches high and has a long seed
[115] stalk growing from the centre. White Calf, the chief of the Piegans, has the secrets of the tobacco and is perhaps the only person in the tribe who knows them. From him I have received the following account of the ceremonies connected with it: —

249 Early in the spring, after the last snow-storm, when the flowers begin to bud (early in the month of May), the women and children go into the timber and prepare a large

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[1] The Beaver Medicine, p. 117. A

A. [See Category 116 --Analyst]

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The drummers and part of the crowd at the North American Indian Days Celebration.

177 771 practice of the Indian religion. How did he combine or compartmentalize these two beliefs? Did he perceive the Catholic ritual as a modern means for expressing Indian beliefs? The priest, it was said, was perplexed by these questions.

177 554 There were varying perceptions of Buffalo Heart among the tribal members. Some would speak respectfully of him: "He is one of the chiefs, one of *our* people and looks after us." Others chose to praise another and saw Buffalo Heart as an old codger who had no right to the name of chief. The other chiefs might also dismiss his tales of the past and his religious knowledge as "lies." "He doesn't know anything. The truth is. . . ." So Buffalo Heart was a prophet and honored person to some, the butt of jokes to others, and, it must be noted, the judgments varied according to the situation and the person to whom the remarks were addressed. Nonetheless, this man was given a role to play, a role with limits im-

posed by the occasion, the time available, and by the particular people with whom 177
he interacted.

His tie with the past was real. His father, in his youth, had hunted buffalo, [554]
fought the Cree and the Flathead, and raided the Crow camps for horses. His father had been fully conversant with Indian lore and religion, and even though a baptized Christian had remained a participant in the old culture. Buffalo Heart, himself, had lived through three-quarters of a century of radical change, a period during which new subsistence patterns were required and the problems a man was called upon to solve were concerned less and less with game and other Indians and more and more with dealing with the white man and his technology and beliefs. Buffalo Heart had tried subsistence farming, then ranching, and finally he 177
had turned to day labor. He had seen a few Indians succeed in these endeavors, 434

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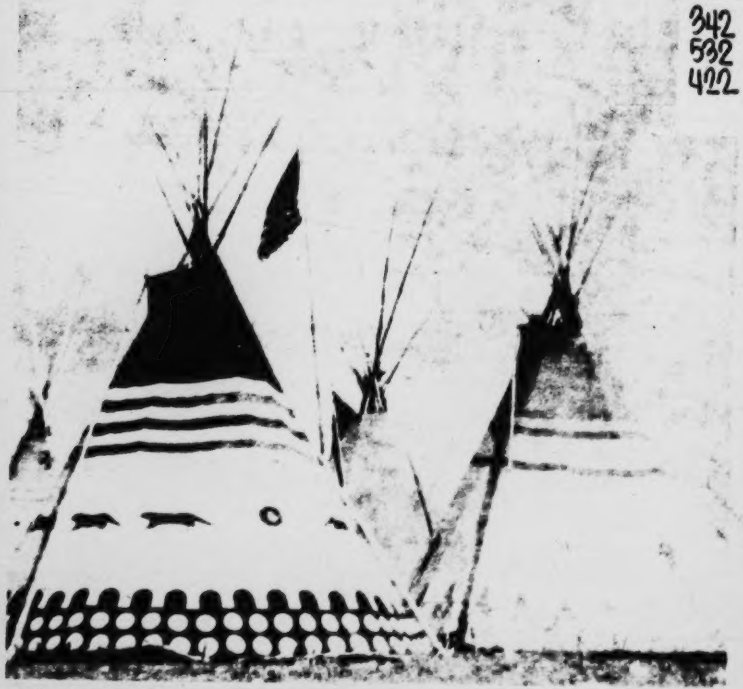

Painted tepees: These designs are the personal property of the man who owns the tepee.

Membership in one or more of these organizations created loyalties that 575
cut across the ties of kinship and band affiliation, and helped to contribute to tribal
solidarity. In other words, a person identified first with his kinsmen and with his 182
band, but later established additional and potentially conflicting ties of loyalty by
marrying someone from another band and by membership in a society that drew
its members from many bands.

Band and tribal leadership was not inherited but open to all who could 554●
command a following. A band headman gained a position of influence by displaying
the qualities (see below) valued in his society and by his continued exercise 622
of these attributes. His influence depended upon his power to persuade others,
and the support of many followers increased this ability. He conferred with
family heads and all decisions were reached by mutual agreement.

Band leaders formed a council during the tribal encampment and one of 622
them, by election or selection, came to be considered the chief of the tribe. The
chief had no institutionalized authority and little disciplining power. His chiefly 619
functions were to guide the council to agreement and to mediate in cases of conflict
and uncertainty.

There were no formalized institutions for social control except for the 626
policing duties of the associations under special regulations put into effect at the
summer encampment. Conflict was first of all a matter between individuals, then [625]
a concern of the families and finally of the bands. The delinquent person was
cautioned, ridiculed, gossiped about, and shamed into conformity. Ostracism and [627]
violence were the ultimate penalties within the band, but usually gossip and shame
served to restore order. Boys and girls growing up in Piegan society were urged
to achieve the ideals of that society. Boys were told to be brave, to be good 867
fighters, able to defend themselves against their peers and to protect younger children. 183
They were praised for skills and daring, even for sexual exploits. Girls were
urged to be quiet, dutiful, sober, hard-working, and to protect their virginity.[7]
Both were rewarded with praise when they achieved, and punished with sarcasm [861]
and gossiped about when they misbehaved or failed. These sanctions contributed
to a developing concern with their own identity and to a strong sense of shame,
and such concerns in turn gave added force to these mechanisms of social control.
Gossip and shame were also used to curb intratribal conflicts among adults. A 626
cluster of tepees made an ideal setting for effective ridicule. Wissler (1911:24)
describes a process of "formal ridicule" that was used to curb "mild persistent 627
misconduct." When the people were quietly settled in of an evening, a headman
would call out to a neighbor asking him if he had heard about that silly fellow
two tepees down who had been mistreating his wife? Men in other tepees would
join in telling what they thought of the man and his behavior, all to the discomfort
of the victim and the enjoyment of everyone else. Sarcasm, ridicule, and the accompanying
laughter, added up to an evening of entertainment for all but the
victim, who was soon highly motivated to mend his ways.

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[7] The double standard in ideal sexual relations set up some strains; in order for one sex to [831]
achieve the other had to fall short of the ideal. I gather from the literature that there
was a mix of failure and success in the attainment of these ideals on the part of both boys
and girls (Ewers 1958:98).

point here is that these powers and their symbols were subject to the same controls 778 as any other property. A man, therefore, incurred both rights and obligations with the attainment of power. He was expected to be generous with it, but at the same 421 time he expected to be paid in goods or prestige for the help he gave.

The Blackfeet believed that the possession of a guardian spirit and power 778 were important for success, so such powers and the bundles that represented them were highly valued. Not all men were successful in their vision quest, but this was 554 ● not held against them. They were just unlucky. Neither they nor anyone else expected much of them, however, and they could hardly advance in prestige without some successes. Such men might be motivated to gain property to enable them to purchase power from someone who had had the experience, and men with power often sought to transfer it because it was a restricted and often burdensome property. As with other kinds of property, the bundle owner was expected to be 778 generous with his power. Bundles had to be opened periodically, and the owner had to provide a feast for invited guests as a part of the ritual. In addition, the bundle [574] owner had to observe a number of taboos associated with each bundle—it had to [784] be displayed properly, no one should walk between the bundle and its owner, and numerous restrictions were put on the owner's behavior. Some men owned several bundles, but whether one or many, some owners found the responsibilities, expenses and taboos too burdensome and sought buyers for their power.

Values and Status

Perhaps, as already indicated, one of the most persistent themes of Blackfeet 554 life was the high value put on individual prestige, a value that operated through and maintained a status structure. This was not a true class society with 183 easily recognized social divisions, but a structure of status positions, each shading into a higher one. The high status people were distinguished readily from those of low status, but the separations along the line might be imperceptible.[8] The whole system was an expression of Blackfeet values, and the highest status was achieved by the man who best represented these ideals.

The major characteristics valued by the Blackfeet and by which men were [555] judged appear to have been bravery, generosity, wisdom, and skill; these were displayed in warfare, horse raiding, hunting, religious knowledge and the acquisition [556] of property for use in the service of others.

It is difficult to establish a hierarchy of the importance of these different 555 attributes. Bravery and generosity appear to have been essential. The ethnographers differ in their ordering of exploits by which a reputation for bravery was established, 183 but all agree that war honors were ranked, and that the killing and scalping of an enemy ranked below the more dangerous feats of successfully wresting the weapons from an enemy and escaping without injury, or stealing into the center

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[8] Ewers believes that social classes were forming in the late 1880s under the influence [565] of horse ownership. A small rich class, a numerous middle class, and a number of poor were recognized, grounded in respect for individual rights and property rights (Ewers 1955:240–244).

555 of an enemy encampment and making off with a fine horse that had been tethered
183 to its owner's tepee. Bravery was measured, then, according to the relative danger
of the exploit and the most dangerous deeds were those related to war and raiding.
554 But brave deeds alone were not enough. Unless a man were generous with his
goods and helpful to his neighbors, he would be branded as selfish and stingy and
183 his supporters might abandon him. This emphasis put stress on acquiring property
with which to be generous which in turn made skill important. But all these
traits were enhanced if a man had supernatural support. Power increased a man's
self-confidence and the expectancy of success on the part of himself and others.
Ewers remarked that the horse raider ". . . was a courageous, alert, resourceful
fighting man. Nevertheless, he did not attribute his success in war to these qualities.
Rather he attributed it to the power of his war medicine" (Ewers 1958:127).

A man of ability, achievement, and with supernatural support was able to attract followers in his ventures of war and raiding, or in his political maneuvers. Influence began to build as he used these qualities and property to rally members of his family and band. He drew first upon the ties of kinship and then attracted followers from other groups to gain leadership within the band. The maintenance of this position, and the advance to higher status depended upon his ability to exercise all of his personal attributes in correct ways.

183 The ideals were a standard, of course, and probably few attained the ideal.
But those who did stood as examples to the children, as noted earlier. People
626 measured each other and themselves by the ideals, and in a society where gossip
183 was an important control over behavior, verbal praise was eagerly sought. What
people said about you was important, and the amount of praise a person received
could be increased if he spoke well of himself. This seemed to be a response
among the Blackfeet. People talked about their good deeds as well as the good
and bad deeds of others, and were much concerned about their own good name.
Men who aspired to leadership tested each other's claims; while rising on their
own claims they could climb faster, in a relative sense, if by gossip they could
cut down the man above them.

554 In a sense then, property was the measure of a man's achievement, and
the use of property became the means of validating a particular status and rising
556 to a higher one. Property was accumulated to use in the gaining of further goods
and, above all, as a means of expressing generosity. Highest status went to the
generous man; a stingy man was the butt of gossip, and lost status among the
Blackfeet.

Claims of power, bravery, skill and generosity were subject to public judg-
796 ment. Opportunities were given, particularly at the Sun Dance, for the recital of
554 coup claims, and public acceptance of these served to validate them. Men called
upon to fill the roles in the Sun Dance ritual, society initiations, and naming ceremonies
were selected from among those of accomplishment, and before performing
the required act the man recounted the achievements that qualified him for the
honor being bestowed upon him. Similarly, the woman who sponsored the Sun
Dance, and the women who cut the buffalo tongues as a part of the ritual, publicly
proclaimed their virtue. In ordinary conversation and in the give and take of daily
life people might boast and overelaborate their exploits, but in these formal situa-

tions they tended to curb such over-enthusiastic self-appraisal. On these occasions 796 anyone who knew such claims to be false or exaggerated was expected to challenge the claim. A woman who came to cut the tongues, for instance, would not only 554 have claimed to have been a good hard working wife, free from the charge of adultery, but would also have related, naming names, the occasions on which she had resisted seduction. "You, Brave Eagle," she might have said, "You remember how you surprised me last fall when I was picking berries, and tried to get me to commit adultery. I told you off, didn't I." If she had told the truth, Brave Eagle would have had to confirm her statement; if she had lied, he would have had to contradict her. After all, his manliness was being attacked—if she was right he lost status as a great lover even as she gained or retained her prestige as a virtuous woman. Concern with self, public proclamation, and public validation kept people from making false claims. They advanced by validating deeds and virtues and by exposing the false claims of another.

Summary

The Blackfeet culture was based upon and integrated with a hunting and 105 gathering economy in which the buffalo was most important. The hunting band was the major economic and political unit. While the band was essentially a kinship group, people did change bands when it was to their advantage to do so. A band leader held his position by popular support, and gained power in tribal councils according to the number of followers he had. Power and leadership were exercised through persuasion and influence. No one could dictate and important decisions were reached by unanimity.

Both private ownership of property, other than land and resources, and the rights of the individual were held in high esteem. People strove to accumulate property, but material wealth was not the goal. Rather, property was given away to exhibit generosity.

Generosity, bravery, wisdom, and skill were highly valued personal qualities. War, horse raiding, hunting, and religious practice provided the major avenues for the achievement and display of these values. Men used bravery and skill to acquire fame and property, and they sought, or bought, supernatural power to aid in these endeavors. They used their gains to exhibit wisdom and generosity in order to attract a personal following that would lead to increased influence and higher social position.

The loss of the buffalo seriously undermined the whole culture. The Blackfeet faced radically altered conditions of life and were called upon to make unprecedented changes. New subsistence techniques were necessary. New skills had to be learned and old ones became obsolete. Economic dependency led to the loss of much political, religious and social autonomy. The following chapter is used to trace the readaptations that accompanied the events subsequent to this catastrophe.

> 175 648 . . . powder and shot, and out-deal them in all their transactions, it is the duty of the Government of the United States to preserve them in some form or other until they have matured sufficiently to become able to control their own domestic affairs, and manage their own property (U.S. Congressional Record XVII 1886: 1764).

These two themes will be seen to alternate in ascendancy in governmental policies from that time to the present. The goal of eventual assimilation has been questioned seriously only in the last forty years. The debate culminated in the passage of the General Allotment Act of 1887 that authorized the President to permit the allotment in severalty of reservation lands to Indians (U.S. Statutes XXIV 1887:388).

The values stressed in that policy are work (industry), self-dependence (self-support), individualism (independence of the tribe), and acquisitiveness (implied in home-building, material thrift, and private ownership). These are some of the qualities valued by the culture-bearing agents of American society who came into long and continuous contact with the members of the Blackfeet tribe. The Americans apparently gave little thought to either the preservation of the Indian value and status systems or to ways in which these might be used to implement governmental policies. The Blackfeet probably thought of the whites as a minority group who had promised to help them and turned to the white man for help with little thought that Indian values were in serious jeopardy.

128 The following review of the history of United States-Blackfeet relations from 1884 to 1970 attempts to trace the interplay between the American and Blackfeet value systems during the course of economic readaptation. The events of history tend to be those seen and recorded by whites, and for many years even the thoughts of the Blackfeet had to find expression through the white man's pen.

The Period of Dependency, 1884–1935

175 657 1884–1891 Following the winter of 1883–1884 the first efforts of the agents were directed toward relieving the famine and providing for the future sustenance of the people. A new agent made his first report in the fall of 1884 in which he wrote that he found few results of past efforts to make the Blackfeet sedentary and self-supporting farmers (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1884:106–108). During the next six years the agents attempted to build up the agency farm and herd, to encourage the Indians to raise grain and produce, and to forward other programs of "civilization."

175 177 [724] [554] [224] From this time on, the dependent Blackfeet were subjected increasingly to the American concepts of law and order. The Indian police, under the agent's direction, were instrumental in eliminating warfare and horse raiding. In 1888 the agent reported that Indian "depredations" had ceased and there had been no horse "stealing" during the preceding year (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1888:152). American pressure against war and horse raiding had eliminated two more traditional avenues to the acquisition of property and prestige; hunting, as a major expression of skill, had already lost its place in Blackfeet life.

Values of the White-Oriented Group

The category "white-oriented" and the characteristics by which it is defined 177
in the context of the study, intimates that this group, in most respects, approxi-
mates the social structuring and culture of the American community of which 183
the reservation is a part. The values of this segment of the reservation population
are assumed to be similar to those found in a neighboring non-Indian community.
The present purpose is not to analyze thoroughly either white-oriented or American
values, but to establish that there is a similarity between the two, and to sketch
the background against which a contrasting Indian-oriented value pattern stands
out. The values can be abstracted from statements occurring repeatedly among
the interview data, and they can be compared with some American value orienta-
tion about which there is agreement.

The values expressed in the field-interview data that appear to be most
useful in separating the white-oriented from the Indian-oriented are closely related
to those that were abstracted, in Chapter 4, from the speeches of governmental
officials of the 1880s: work, self-dependence, individualism, and acquisitiveness.
These are highly interrelated concepts. Work is a means by which to achieve 183
valued ends, in this case independence from others, the accumulation of property
for self-security and the security of one's immediate family. It is also an end in 461
itself. It is good to work. A man who is known as a good worker gains some [554]
prestige in the community. A white-oriented man uses these values as a measure
of others whether or not he appears to practice them himself.

Some of these valued characteristics were indicated in the economic data
gathered from my sample (McFee 1962:114–124) and some of those findings
are reviewed to show that the values are reflected in actual behavior. Only three 183
of the twenty white-oriented men were irregularly employed. Two were regularly
employed at seasonal labor, but all others had year around employment. Again, 461
the relative dependence upon family support and welfare aid appeared to be 464
significant. Twelve of the twenty received no family support, three others did, but
they were active participants in a successful family ranch or farm enterprise. Only 183
one white-oriented man reported use of welfare.[14]

These figures, of course, reflect the influence of other factors, such as 461
economic potential, relative age, education, health, and opportunity. But they are 657
related also to motivation and to the degree of commitment to the white-oriented 183
value system. The following excerpts, paraphrased from interviews with white-
oriented subjects, illustrate some of the ways these values are expressed. [177]

> I've been ranching all my life, and had to get a fee patent—they held me 183
> down. The reservation rules tied you all up. I'm independent and have trained
> the kids to be the same. I wanted to build up the ranch for the boys. Two of them 461

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[14] These and the following figures, based on the answers given by members of the sample [128]
to my questionnaire are used to indicate some trends apparent in the limited data. Because
of the small and incomplete sample it would not be safe to treat these trends as well sup-
ported generalizations about the whole population.

that are so prevalent in our society. In general, they dislike blacks, foreigners, and, 186
of course, whites. Some Indians expressed dismay when they found that fair housing laws meant that whites could not be excluded from the tribally sponsored but federally funded low rent housing. This observation is made as a part of the description and is in no way intended to excuse discrimination against the Indians.

The status levels of the white-oriented community reflect the scale by 565
which white or white-oriented people assess themselves and their neighbors, and
these are congruent with the status patterns of the region, as I explained in a 177
footnote to my earlier report (McFee 1962:178). The white-oriented people are socially, politically, economically and culturally, a part of the mainstream of American life.

As the white-oriented share status and value systems with the white 565
people, they tend to assess the Indians by these same standards. The white-oriented person will tend to place an Indian-oriented person in a class just below his own even when they are equal in most other respects. The improvident Indian is ranked lower than the improvident white. White-oriented people measure all others by their own standards, in relation to themselves and their kind.

The Indian-oriented person, however, sees the relative status of the tribal members from quite a different perspective. Social worth is measured by different standards in Indian-oriented society, and the standards reflect commitment to other values.

Status among the Indian-Oriented

The people of one segment of the Blackfeet Tribe consider themselves the
real Blackfeet Indians and dedicate themselves to being Indian. Toward this end 186
they share elements of culture that differ from that of the surrounding population and associate most frequently with people of like orientation. The group has 554
its own measures of status based upon expressions of the values supported by its members, and because of differing goals and values, the status system of the Indian-oriented is incongruent with that of the white-oriented society. The Indian judges his group and the whole tribal population by another standard that results in a dissimilar ranking.

For present purposes the same threefold classification of status—low, middle, and high—is used, but the positions are discussed in another order. In Indian-oriented society, high status is achieved by the attainment of prestige and influence through behaviors that express the values of the group. This is the same general principle that operates among the white-oriented society, but the bicultural situation, in which the Indian-oriented are an economically and politically dependent minority, has opened two avenues to higher status for Indian-oriented people. Low status people are relatively homogeneous, middle status less so, and the high status category can be split into the two types based upon knowledge of and proficiency in the white man's world. Because of this the high status classes are described first, 128
then the low status, followed by a brief description of the large middle class that, by its judgments and support, make or breaks people's status claims. The discus-

128 sion of the characteristics that make for the achievement of high status will describe best the ideals of the society against which the lower rankings are also measured.

INDIAN-ORIENTED HIGH STATUS The joint requirements of maintaining 554 Indian identity and achieving this within the political and economic framework 177 of white culture have opened two channels to prestige and leadership within the Indian-oriented group. The ideal leader in this situation would be a man wise in the ways of both traditional Blackfeet and modern American cultures. He would be an authority on how best to be an Indian, yet well educated, skilled, and able to meet the white man on common ground. He would be experienced sufficiently to gain acceptance and influence in white society and to act as an able interpreter of each group to the other. The history of Blackfeet and American relations is too short to have produced such an ideal in one man. Instead, as more and more tribal members become white-oriented, some men gain high status by their greater knowledge of Blackfeet culture as it is known today. These leaders form a least acculturated high status stratum that for the sake of simplicity, will be called the *chiefs*. Others, better educated and more experienced with white culture, find high status by playing the roles of intercultural interpreters and mediators. They are accomplished spokesmen for the Indian-oriented point of view, and as a more acculturated high status class are labeled *interpreters*. There are more than generational differences between these two status types.

Chiefs are usually older men who know and support the currently known traditions and beliefs. They vary in their knowledge, belief and dedication, but all, together, form a repository of what is remembered of the old ways. One of these men recognized that much of the old culture had been lost, "things beyond the memory of even the old timers," but he and others of his status are "trying to show the young people the things from the past," with special emphasis on keeping the language alive. Their qualities and characteristics are those given in the description of Albert Buffalo Heart, so will be only summarily reviewed here.

Through their age, knowledge, and practice of Blackfeet ideals each of these men has gained the respect of a numerous following of kinsmen, friends and people from a particular region who recognize him as their chief, or respected elder. So these men are given respect and loyalty but little political power. It appears that the old leadership structure persists among the Indian-oriented group. People tend to shift their loyalties according to kinship, friendship, and self-interest. The leadership that develops carries responsibilities and influence, but rarely true authority. The chiefs are recognized as links to the past, authorities on tradition, and symbols of the Indian, but as the roles given them will show, these things are peripheral to the present political and economic sphere.

Chiefs perform a variety of public duties that center around their posi-
[527] tion as authorities on tradition. They serve on the Indian Days committee; they help in planning the program and in the regulation of the camp; they don ceremonial regalia to take part in the dancing and exhibitions that make up the pro-
[796] gram. If a Sun Dance is held, it should be sponsored by people of this class and the principal roles will be filled by chiefs and their families. They are called upon
[597] to greet distinguished visitors and to officiate in adoption ceremonies and give-aways.

Several of these men[A] own medicine bundles that they open on the proper 554 occasions, and they help conduct the ceremonies at the bundle openings of other people. A few know curing practices and rituals and conduct curing ceremonies 177 even though they and their patients also go to white doctors. 788

Some of the chiefs serve on the Honorary Tribal Council and receive a 755 small per diem for attendance at council meetings. Members of this honorary council are chosen frequently to accompany delegations to the state and national capitals to lobby for or against proposed legislation that might affect the tribe. 554 Both in the council and on such trips, the chiefs see themselves as spokesmen for 177 the full-bloods and take every occasion to speak out, usually in Blackfeet, urging 643 harmony and trust, and requesting more help for "the People"—the full-bloods.

The people, in general, take pride in their old timers but want them to [664] exercise their influence outside of the council. They are handicapped, too, as political leaders because they speak little English and so fail to communicate directly with many of the people they seek to influence. They wish to arrive at decisions by the traditional council method that requires lengthy discussion and unanimity. The dominant culture and society within which they must act, the white and white-oriented leaders that must be influenced, do not allow time for this method of resolving issues. The men are extended the courtesy of free speech, but this does not include giving much attention to what they say.

These men have attained this status by the routes of wisdom, skill, and 554 generosity. Wisdom and skill have developed through their experience. Their fathers, as youths, saw the last of the buffalo days and told their sons about that 177 life, so their tie with the past is real. The chiefs have lived through ¾ of a century of the changes described in Chapter 4, so the wisdom they profess has a basis in experience with the white man. They were active participants in the trials of change, having tried many of the programs for economic readaptation with varying degrees of success. In the course of these economic ups and downs these men accepted some change, but also tried to maintain the traditions as they knew them, a difficult and dangerous job in face of the strenuous efforts of the government to stamp out these traditions. Their ability to do this has made them both the advisers and symbols they now are for numbers of people.

The high status position of these men is fairly stable but still depends on the numbers and support of their followers. Their claims to status must be validated by continued service and acts of generosity. They are not wealthy, but they have shared what they had in better times and perform services presently that validate their positions.

The chiefs do not present a united front, and are still rivals for additional prestige. They criticize one another and are gossiped about by other people. One old man will dismiss the tales of another as "lies." Another will be criticized for telling war stories. "He once put a story in the paper about how he scalped a Crow [Indian]. People laugh at him. He shouldn't tell those stories, they don't belong to him. My daddy told me not to tell these war stories, they're the property of the people who did the things."

The chiefs, then, are honored for their ability to symbolize tradition and to advise about and maintain these traditions. The knowledge and experience that

[A] [i.e., "chiefs," the least acculturated high status stratum--Analyst]

554 177 has gained them this status, however, cannot be translated into effective, practical political and economic leadership, so that another type of Indian-oriented leader must fill this gap.

Interpreters,[16] like Raymond Black Plume, form a high status class made up of relatively younger men who are better educated, were raised in Indian-oriented homes, speak both languages fluently, and have assumed, or gained, leadership roles in the community. They express the ambition to "make a life by combining what is best of the Indian way with the best of the white way." They are capable of fitting into a role made necessary by the reservation complex wherein two contrasting societies attempt to function under a common political system. They can talk to and better understand both sides. At the same time, these leaders *are Indian-oriented.* They want to be accepted by the Indian society and want to maintain Indian identity, but both the bicultural milieu and their personal qualities lead to an understanding and participation that differs from that of the chiefs.

The interpreters know much of the old religion and lore. Quite often their fathers had been of the chief class and these men had been taught some of the 554 traditions in their homes. But they are not committed, openly at least, to the old religion. They are members, and often leaders, of Christian churches. Those who 177 are Catholics look for elements in Catholicism that support Indian values and they 771 are adept at finding Christian analogues for Blackfeet beliefs. Others have joined minor Protestant churches and stress that the predominant Indian attendance at these makes them Indian churches. There is some evidence that many Indian-oriented persons are changing church affiliation frequently and that this is caused possibly by a search for a white church that is most congruent with the Blackfeet religion.[17]

[796] The interpreters participate in Indian ceremonies and are given parts to play in the Sun Dance. They do not have the traditional wisdom required for the roles, but they are Indian leaders who are sympathetic and "good." They tend to express Indian values, and subscribe to Indian symbols. Interpreters frequently put up a tepee for Indian Days, wear a chiefly costume on appropriate occasions, stress their Indian names, and belong to a men's society.

554 In addition to their Indian training, these men have had the opportunity to get a good education in American schools, to travel and otherwise become 177 experienced with much of white culture. They are capable of competing with the white-oriented, and through ability, hard work, and some economic success are well accepted by the white-oriented community. They could succeed on their own 554 in any rural off-reservation community. The interpreters are not wealthy. They 556 usually earn good salaries in agency or council positions but they use this income to help support a family ranch. Their less acculturated kinsmen work the ranch [602] in return for some financial support. All share in the profits and losses from the enterprise.

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[16] In an earlier paper I included the interpreters among what I called the 150% Men—people who knew two cultures well (McFee 1968).

[794] [17] The Blackfeet have not accepted the peyote cults common to so many Indian reservations even though these are active in reservations in the surrounding region.

Because of their Indian-orientation, however, they must curb their eco-
nomic ambitions in order to maintain their status. The very capabilities that make 554
them valuable leaders within their group subject them to constant surveillance and 556
criticism. In addition, their youth is held against them. In the past, status through
wisdom came with age and in the eyes of many of their people they are wise 554
too soon. So these men cannot acquire too much; they must be generous and [561]
helpful, and build a following that will attest to their wisdom, skill, and generosity
in future years.

It is possible that in later life these men might take over the positions of custodians of tradition as these become vacated by the present chiefs, but this is doubtful, even though some people occasionally refer to them as "young chiefs." The tentative prediction would be that high status positions of both types will be filled from below where the factors of relative education and experience tend to produce differential experience within the Indian-oriented society. People of lower status already give indications as to how these positions will be filled.

The interpreters also differ from the chiefs, and many other Indian-oriented
people as well, in the furnishing and maintenance of their homes. Most of the 554
chiefs live in small frame or log houses with minimal services and simple furni- 362
ture. They rarely have appliances—a wood range serves for both cooking and [342]
heating. The structures are unpainted inside and out and no attempt has been made
to fence or otherwise mark the house lot or "territory." The interpreters, on the 354
other hand, seem to have accepted more of the white-oriented interest in things. 353
As a class, they live in larger three- or five-room houses which are painted on the 351
inside at least. They build closets, have more furniture, own refrigerators, radios, 177
and television sets. Often there is a fenced area around the house or some other
border defining feature. The interpreters' homes look like those of many middle 342
status white-oriented families—larger and better furnished than that of Bob Sorrel 352
Horse, but not as freshly painted and filled with things as was Ray Hawkins' home. 351
Here again is a sign that the interpreters aim for the best of two worlds.

Indian-Oriented Low Status Low status Indian-oriented people can
be described by characteristics quite similar to those of the same status in white- 554
oriented society. These people are poor. Some are hard workers and others improvi- 735
dent, but lack of training limits these men to irregular wage labor. They do not
find regular seasonal jobs but must take work where and when they can find it. [464]
Several of the improvident ones, like their white-oriented counterparts, are called
"bums" and "winos" and are problem cases for the authorities. But there is a
difference between men of the differing orientations even at the lowest status 554
level. They face in different cultural directions, and the analysis of the data from 735
my sample showed that the Indian-oriented low status man is more a part of his 177
society than the lower-class white man is in his.

In contrast with the white-oriented group, economic factors fail to sepa-
rate the low from many of the middle status people in Indian-oriented society.
Irregular work, low income, poorly maintained and crowded houses are character-
istics shared by people variously ranked on the status scale. The ultimate criterion 554
for status assignment is social participation. 571

Low status people do not take part in as many social activities as do the

554 people of higher positions; they are often present but usually as onlookers. It is
571 significant, however, that they are not isolated from their group as is often the case
with the improvident white-oriented person. The low status Indian-oriented man
554 is welcome to attend Indian activities if he behaves. If he misbehaves he is eased
571 out, perhaps locked up in the jail, but people do not disown him for this. They
joke about it as if his actions were to be expected, and welcome him back when
626 he settles down. If he behaves he may be given a job to do, such as ushering, police duty, or helping with the serving of the food. He is one of them, perhaps a kinsman, at least a familiar person in the community and he is given some community support.

554 These men have much spare time and spend a great deal of it in the street
461 corner groups. If they, or one of their friends, have a little cash or can beg some
from a tourist, they will buy a bottle of wine and get drunk. Such loafing and
[273] drinking groups are made up of Indian-oriented people.

These men fill a traditional and expected status. The Blackfeet had, in the
554 past, a few improvident and unfortunate people who lacked the "power" to suc-
177 ceed. This was not held against them and it was a social duty to see that they
did not starve. The low status people of today are treated in much the same way;
571 they are thought of as unlucky and not entirely responsible for their condition. They may stir up trouble but the tendency is to keep the quarrels within the group; they are criticized and admonished but not ostracized. White and white-oriented persons let the more impersonal authorities deal with the low status trouble makers and expect public agencies to take care of the shiftless ones. The Indian-oriented group feels a responsibility for their own low status people. They are "our people" and "we" take care of them. Family and group responsibility does not end when authorities step in, and the improvident are cared for regardless of welfare. The aid may be given grudgingly but it is forthcoming.

554 **INDIAN-ORIENTED MIDDLE STATUS** The majority of the Indian-oriented group are assigned to a middle status that encompasses a broad range of individual differences. The same qualities requisite for high status count here, and conformity to Indian values is more important than economic condition.

These are the people who live the Indian-oriented life described in the previous chapters, who affirm the Indian-oriented values and both support and take part in the Indian-oriented society. The middle class actively supports the leaders of their choice in both the traditional and the modern spheres and differs
from the lower status people because of their more complete involvement in the
[626] life of the community. It is the attitudes, opinions, acts, and wants of these people
that assign and validate social status; they are the Indian-oriented public that awards some people with loyalty and influence and penalize others with gossip, criticism, and shame.

This class includes people with a wide range of knowledge of and skills in the traditional culture, and in education and experience with the white. These differences in their knowledge and skills establish both limitations on and possibilities for upward mobility for these people. The poorly educated person cannot expect to gain high status of the interpreter type, and as a consequence they are most apt to follow the pattern established by the chiefs. There is evidence in the behavior of several men that they have such ambitions. They have quit drinking 554 and "chasing around," and have become active in a men's society, a dancing or singing group, and are learning more of the old culture from association with the chiefs. They serve on committees that plan and stage the Indian Days celebration and holiday dances, and attempt to live up to the highest values of the group. Their families are supporting them in this move. The brother of one such man spoke of him proudly: "My brother quit drinking twenty years ago and learned Indian singing. He won a singing contest and now he's a champion singer. He's the boss." Others support the similar ambitions of one of their relatives; they say that this man "isn't so much of a singer" and that he really "doesn't know much" about Blackfeet ways. His ambitions are being challenged as a part of the validation process he must go through.

Several younger men appear to be grooming for the interpreter high status positions. They are learning Blackfeet traditions in their homes or from the elders, and at the same time are doing well in school. One man appears to be a likely 554 candidate for a position as an interpreter. He went on to college and gained additional experience in American society; he is fluent in both languages and was 111 raised and trained in aspects of the old culture. His Indian-oriented accomplishments and success in school already have gained him the respect of the Indian-oriented, and his early success in school earned the respect of many in the white and white-oriented community. He is now going through another testing, having dropped out of college and returned to the reservation to pick up irregular labor and drinking patterns that are not appreciated by the higher status people of either orientation. Nonetheless he is forgiven by the Indian-oriented and will be by the white-oriented if he "straightens out" later and picks up his previous goals of assuming the interpreter role. Other interpreters have traveled this road.

I visited many kinds of Indian-oriented homes and with the exception of 554 those of the interpreters found one characteristic common to all—regardless of the size of the house or financial standing of the owner, they gave little evidence 511 of concern for the material possessions prized by middle-class whites. For instance, 183 one middle status Indian-oriented family, the Chief Sons, lived in a four room frame house in Browning. The siding of the thirty year old structure had been [342] covered during the past ten years with asphalt shingles; the shingle roof was in good repair, but the outside trim had not been painted since the original application. The floors were covered with linoleum, the plastered interior walls retained [352] the original paint. The plumbing fixtures had been installed or replaced in 1958 [358] and were in good repair. Heat was provided by the wood range. Each bedroom [355] had a bed, a wooden chair, and a small table. Clothes were hung on wall hooks [352] and on a cord stretched across one corner of the room. The living room was furnished with a worn davenport, a table and some wooden chairs, and an old cabinet phonograph and radio combination that was inoperative. Floral print paper [359] curtains hung at the windows, several Russell prints and a religious calendar were on the walls, and a plaster religious figurine stood on the radio cabinet. Family photographs, including many of the children, and elders too, in Indian costumes were displayed in the bedrooms. It appeared that meals were eaten at a small table [356] in the kitchen. Inside everything was worn, orderly, and clean; outside there was

554 less order. There was no fence, no lawn, and several shrubs grew unattended. There
511 was little to indicate any concern about how the place looked to a passerby.

183 Another Indian-oriented middle status home was an old log cabin to which
an entryway and bedroom had been added. The structure was sound but unpainted.
356 The old cabin part served as a combination kitchen, living room, and bedroom.
351 There was no water service. Water had to be carried daily from a community
342 hydrant a block away in three water buckets that were placed on a bench beside
the wood range and a washstand. The range did double duty for cooking and
312 heating. The furniture consisted of a plain wooden table and wooden kitchen
354 chairs and the beds—two in the bedroom and one in the main room. As in the
352 first house, clothes were hung on wall hooks. There were cotton print curtains at
353 the windows and colorful patchwork quilts covered the beds. The walls were
covered with family photographs, a religious calendar, and some articles of Indian
beadwork. Paper flowers were on the table, and several plants were growing in
tin cans that had been covered with colored paper and placed along the window
356 sill in the entryway. Again, everything inside was neat and clean contrasting with
351 the unfenced yard which was bare of plantings and cluttered with debris.

These examples support but do not prove my impression that there is a
difference between the two orientation groups in the way they furnish and maintain
554 their homes. I was in several middle status homes that, like the first one I
356 described, had a refrigerator and overstuffed furniture and that, with the exception
352 of the interpreters' homes, came closest to "having everything," as one of
the Chief Sons family said of their house. Cleanliness and decoration with things
that interested the family were important, but no one seemed to feel that paint
351 was required. Exteriors received only the most necessary repairs, and the Indian-oriented
more often than not showed little concern about marking off or maintaining
a private space around the house. Thus there was attention to comfort,
but it did not seem to be the same kind of material comfort sought by the middle-class
whites.

177 White and white-oriented people seemed to want to define their yards and
order them, which may be in part an expression of concern about what others
351 might think: lawns, fences, flowers, and paint are status symbols in white middle-class
society, but have little part to play in establishing a social position among
the Indian-oriented. The latter are interested in doing other things with their
time and money.

121 These differences remain impressionistic and need further and careful study.
The new housing, freshly painted, that has indoor plumbing, hot and cold running
178 water, electric or gas ranges, space heaters, and that encourages the building of
fences and the planting of lawns will both encourage their use and maintenance
and provide a test for my thesis that the two groups differ in their evaluation of
such things. Time will tell how much the Indian-oriented people choose to invest
in these, and whether or not they will differ from their white-oriented neighbors
177 in this respect. For the present, at least, I find these differing concerns about work,
money, home furnishings and maintenance, generosity and proper social relationships,
183 and the values that underlie them, to be basic to the maintenance of the
contrasting social structures of the two groups.

177 183 homes, furnishings, and equipment that contribute to economic independence, material comfort, and serve also to symbolize, both to the individual and others, the degree of success achieved.

Persons of this orientation associate mainly with people of similar orientation and aspire toward full participation in white society. Such aspirations often are thwarted both because white people identify the white-oriented with an Indian stereotype, and they too see themselves as "Indians" in opposition to "white men" when the privileges of Indian status are under attack. The aspirations are realistic, however, because in most respects the white-oriented segment of the Blackfeet tribe differs little from the majority section of American society.

177 565 A brief investigation of the status system within this group revealed a pattern similar to the general American class structure. Like most other Americans, white-oriented people make their judgments of individual worth according to standards introduced and maintained by the dominant society. One can conclude that the white-oriented society among the Blackfeet is organized around a series of class norms. An individual who aspires to belong to this society will find social support to the extent that he approximates the behavior set by these norms and displays a commitment to the values of the group.

Indian-Oriented Society

177 183 The patterns of the Indian-oriented group stand out clearly despite the many features shared with both white and white-oriented society, and especially in the areas of contrasting premises and values. The major goal of this group is
177 183 186 to retain its ethnic identity as shown by the attachment these people have to things and practices that symbolize Indian-ness. Traditional definitions of the good person, and particularly the value placed upon generosity, persist and serve as both symbols of being Indian, and a check against the achievement necessary for full economic integration with the dominant society.

177 183 This goal tends to make the Indian-oriented Blackfeet present rather than future oriented. They asserted tradition, a tradition made up of remembered Blackfeet culture, borrowed pan-Indian elements and incorporated elements from white culture, but this is not to be interpreted as living in the past. The future is uncertain for most Indian-oriented people; past experience has made them suspicious of long range plans. Consequently the tendency is to avoid risking present positions for unknown future benefits, to live each day as it comes and to remember real and legendary better days of the past.

The Blackfeet Indian-oriented society is organized in conformity to these
[554] norms and expectations. A man is judged by his display of Indian traits and particularly by how generous he is with the fruits of his achievement. Expressions
[565] of such judgments were recorded and used to construct a scale of status, from low to high, and the resulting class structure appeared little related to similar levels in both the general American society and the white-oriented Blackfeet group.

[554] Of particular importance, as an indication of Indian-oriented accommoda-

tion to the bicultural milieu, is the duality apparent in the Indian system that led to the identification of two high status classes—the chiefs and the interpreters. 177 The chiefs attain influence because of their knowledge of the past; they represent 183 continuity with the Blackfeet forebears and the traditional culture. The interpreters, 554 on the other hand, are supported because of their knowledge of and experience with both cultures which enables them to mediate between the subordinate and dominant groups.

The Indian-oriented society in these ways provides tribal members with an alternative route to influence and higher status—another set of class norms regulating the behavior of persons who wish to associate with people who aspire to be Indians. Approximation of these norms and evidence of commitment to the values of the group will help a man gain acceptance and social support from this society.

Two hundred and thirty years of adaptation and adjustment to change has resulted in a bicultural community held together by special bonds. 177 The past events have not resulted in tribal disorganization, but in a reorganization that accommodates the simultaneous persistence of many traditional social and cultural characteristics from both interacting societies. A large part of the tribe has adopted the culture of the dominant society and aspires to assimilate. A smaller number, for reasons already mentioned, retains more from the Blackfeet past and resists further change. The reservation social structure has changed to accommodate these contrasting points of view. The structure of a nonreservation community tends to be unilinear, with one general set of values, and one status hierarchy. But the physical and social boundaries of the reservation and the tribe incorporate two societies, and make possible a bilinear structure that offers a choice of alternative limitations and possibilities for adaptation. An individual, consciously or otherwise, can choose, and possibly choose again, which pattern he wishes to follow. His choice, and his acceptance and class assignment, depend upon what he brings to the situation in the way of aspirations, experiences, and capabilities. Herein may lie the potential for the development of a true and viable cultural pluralism that can serve as a model for American society as a whole. That hope guides my reflections upon the future.

What Lies Ahead for the Blackfeet?

An oracle, whether a social scientist or anything else short of Delphian, 121 takes risks. I put myself in double jeopardy: my reading of the present may be faulty, and, as is most usual, the future conditions may be very different from those I foresee.

No one in the present day should be unaware of the problems confronting American Indians, and what I have described should indicate that the Blackfeet too have troubles. There is heavy drinking, even alcoholism, among too many old [273] and young alike. Crime, vandalism, and juvenile delinquency are too frequent. [674] Several cases of suicide have been reported; alcohol-related and tragic deaths from [165]

179 incurred for less important reasons. Capable administrators in many other U.S. towns have elected the same route to the revival of local economies.

179 529 An extension of the recent and steady upward trend in tourist activity supports a prediction of success for this venture. Again space, water, clean air, in addition to good hunting and fishing and the proximity to Glacier National Park, provide a strong base for tourist development. Tourist facilities appear to be a sound investment that would, in the long run, continue to bring in outside money regardless of the ups and downs of the national economy. The trends in this industry can be influenced by what developments take place in the cities. Will changes encourage city dwellers to spend more of their leisure time at home, or result in ever increasing search for open space and sport? Concerns for the environment will play a part in the planning and building of tourist facilities. What if studies show that tourist activities should be curtailed in the interest of preserving the very attractions the local people wish to exploit? What is the future for the automobile, motorboating, motorcycles, and ski-mobiles? Substitutes for the internal combustion engine will change the nature of motor service operations. Radical changes in recreational facilities might result, if automobile and related private, engine-powered personal transportation and sports equipment were curtailed and mass public transport was expanded. Highway construction, parking facilities, power boat and automobile servicing facilities, motels, campgrounds designed for auto traffic all would be affected. Different kinds of facilities would be needed depending on the forms of transportation that evolved. Curtailment of motor driven equipment might greatly increase the use of horses for recreation. The reservation is well suited for raising horses, and already has more than are needed for present purposes. A right guess here would make a big difference in the odds for success in tourist development. The positive aspect here is that the resources are on or near the reservation and at present these are relatively untouched. There is less of a vested interest to oppose change than would be the case if the region had already been highly developed. Little present or planned development would stand in the way of such a change.

179 Another trend that some predict for the U.S. economy that may affect the outcome of reservation programs is the prospect that computers and other forms of mechanization will put work as we know it out of style. If, in the next few decades, there will be fewer jobs as we know them one of two things will have to happen. The high value placed on work for its own sake will have to give way to other measures of personal worth, or other activities now called play or recreation will have to be brought into the definition of work. In either case such a change would seem to work against the success of the industrial development, but boost the prospects of success in the area of recreation. Many tribal members who have trouble finding jobs, but have developed the skills of crafts, art, and sociability may find themselves better prepared for the future than those who appear successful under present conditions. Projected plans for some form of minimum guaranteed income would have unforeseen results but could be only an improvement over present conditions.

554 Local and tribal participation in these attempts at solving the economic problems of the reservation have contributed along with many other experiences

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

to the development of an increasingly viable and capable group of community 554 leaders. This is my greatest source of optimism. The Blackfeet have never lacked for active and intelligent leaders and they have had years of experience in practical politics. The heartening factor has been the trend to a broader political base, increased autonomy of decision, and the greater participation by more of the community in political and social action. With each passing generation those who have taken leadership roles have had more education and more experience with the outside world than those who preceded them. Tribal members play leading [648] roles in national Indian organizations. They have in the past and continue to serve in the state legislature and senate. There were Blackfeet at Alcatraz. More [873] youth are going to college and some of these are talking of returning to the reservation to play a part in solving local problems. The tribal council and its committees has always provided a good training ground for leadership. To this 657 has been added the Community Action Programs and other O.E.O. sponsored activities. The Browning Industrial Development Corporation and the Housing 867 Authority, both provide opportunities for leadership training and participation for more people. Some of the O.E.O. programs are reminiscent of the old C.C.C. programs that provided short range income that was a help for people when they needed it, but had few long range economic benefits. The Community Action Programs, however, appeal to me most because they are involving young and old and most of them are centered in the community. The workers involved get to know their neighbors, learn of the community problems and what resources are available to help solve them. Even youngsters out cleaning up vacant lots are doing something with their neighbors for the community. They are learning about organization and practical politics—knowledge that should stand them in good stead whatever the future brings. The faults of these programs and organizations are the faults of all of us, as are the strengths. The Blackfeet are becoming increasingly able to run their own affairs with less governmental paternalism.

That last sentence raises the very sensitive issue of termination. This is a 648 very sticky problem, too complicated to elaborate on here. I will side with those who oppose it for the following reasons. I agree with those tribal members who fear political domination by the county and state if the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the special relationships between tribe and the federal government were terminated. First, land would be lost rapidly if trust restrictions were removed. It is of course every citizen's right to buy and sell his property, but too many Indian owners still are too inexperienced in financial matters to protect their own interests in even the most honest land transactions or to benefit by converting land to cash. Secondly, much reservation land would be lost if it was removed from trust status and put on the tax rolls at a time when too few Indian owners make enough money from their land to meet taxes. Thirdly, the Indians feel that the present climate of discrimination in off-reservation communities would result in loss of services, poorer services, and unfair treatment in local and state courts is present federal and tribal programs were turned over to county and state. I think their fears are well founded.

The other side of the argument has some merit too. B.I.A. programs have often been overprotective, fostering overdependency and expectations of paternal-

[ca. 1850]

the taboos associated with the care of the bundle. Most bundles 784
had to be hung on tripods behind the owner's lodge during the
day and brought inside at night. Other taboos were more varied. 778
The owner of a medicine pipe bundle must not let anyone pass
in front of him when camp was moved. A beaver bundle owner
dared not show fear of water in any form. The owner of a snake-painted tipi must not break a bone in his lodge.

Frequent transfer of medicine bundles was encouraged by the 778
Blackfoot belief that having owned important bundles added to
a man's prestige and social position. Men of distinction were 554 ●
proud to recount the various bundles they had possessed during
their lifetime, just as they were proud to tell of their brave deeds
in war. Everyone knew that purchase of an important bundle
required sacrifice of considerable property and that learning the
ritual of the bundle was an intellectual accomplishment.

Many articles associated with successful achievements in war 778
came to be regarded as medicine bundles. Among them were
headdresses, shirts, shields, knives, and lances. These more im- 714
portant war medicines were usually the property of the well-to-do members of the tribe.[1]

The most common of the more important classes of medicine 778
bundles were the painted lodges. There were more than fifty of
them among the three Blackfoot tribes. The handsomely painted 532
lodge cover was not a sacred entity in itself. Rather it was part 342
of a complex of sacred objects received by its original owner in
his dream of power.

According to Piegan tradition some of the oldest painted
lodges are the bear ones. Their origin is explained in the follow- 529
ing legend: Long ago a young Piegan determined to obtain some
secret power which would bring him success in war. While trav- 778
eling through heavy timber in search of a fasting place, he came 532
upon a cave. He entered it. When his eyes became accustomed 342
to the darkness he saw the cave was occupied by a mother bear 773
and her cubs. When he pleaded with the bear mother not to
harm him, she quieted down and even let him fondle her cubs.

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[1] War medicines are described on pages 127–28 of this book.

RETURN TO CAMP

Upon nearing the home village, members of a successful Blackfoot raiding party halted, painted themselves just as they were when they raided the enemy camp, decorated their horses, and moved toward camp shooting in the air to notify their tribesmen of their return. All the people of the camp came out to greet them. If an old woman came to a successful raider and told him she had prayed for him during his absence he might give her a horse, whether or not she was a relative. It was common practice to give horses to relatives, especially to fathers-in-law or brothers-in-law, after a raid. Then the raider would tell his wife to bring to his lodge the old man who had given him war medicine and prayed for his welfare. He fed the old man and gave him one or more of the horses captured on the recent raid. 727

Generous giving of horses, secured at great risk from enemy camps, was regarded as a praiseworthy act. He who, in the intoxication of success, gave away all the horses he had taken without thought for himself, was remembered for his generosity long after the gifts were distributed. Action of that kind served as a steppingstone to leadership. It was customary for a person who had received a captured horse as a gift to aid the donor in preparing for future raids through presents of moccasins, food, ammunition, or even a gun, if the young man did not possess one.[58] 727 554

ACCUSTOMING CAPTURED HORSES TO ONE'S HERD

To prevent a captured horse from straying from its new herd the Blackfoot owner tied it neck and neck with a gentle mare in his herd. After 4 or 5 nights of this treatment the new horse could be released without fear of straying. If the stolen horse was the only one owned by an individual he initiated it into the herd of one of his relatives by the same method. Some men tried to hasten the process by trimming off pieces of the hocks of the two animals necked together, mixing 231

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of horses in dispute by men who received few horses. He claimed men of large families or of "force in camp," able to back up their claims received the most horses. According to Llewellyn and Hoebel (1941, p. 228) the Cheyenne often agreed upon equal distribution of horses taken on a raid, although their usual system recognized the claim of each man to the horse or horses he was first to count coup upon. Smoky claimed the Kiowa commonly followed the system of equal distribution. The leader called upon each man in turn, beginning with his closest friend or relative. If a man chose a mare any colts that followed that mare were his also. The leader was the last to make a selection. If a few animals were left after each man had a like number the leader drove them home and gave them away. The Kiowa also recognized a man's right to make his selection and then describe another horse in the herd not previously claimed, stating, "Don't pick that horse. I am going to give it to [name], a poor old man [or woman] when I get back." That horse was reserved for the gift indicated. 727 171

[58] Other writers have reported liberal giving of horses by members of returning raiding parties among the Mandan (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, pp. 352-353); Cheyenne (Grinnell, 1923, vol. 2, p. 15); and Crow (Marquis, 1928, pp. 175-176). The motivation for and honor accorded such gifts were the same as among the Blackfoot. 171

PICTOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF WAR HONORS

703 Successful warriors were privileged to picture their war honors on
532 their buffalo robes, lodge linings, or lodge covers. A warrior might
call upon another man more skilled in painting than himself to execute
the pictures. On the whole the Blackfoot were much less interested
in the aesthetic than in the symbolic qualities of their recordings.
As Wissler has noted, the taking of a picketed horse was sometimes
illustrated merely by a representation of a picket pin, while
horses taken in an open fight were portrayed by geometric symbols
of horse hoofs (Wissler, 1911, p. 41, figs. 4, 5). When horses were
portrayed in the old days they were crude, stiff figures, which Lazy
Boy aptly likened to the forms of the bent willow horses made as
children's toys (pl. 12). They were always painted in profile, and
generally in solid colors without outlines. The color was that of the
captured horse depicted. Red paint signified a bay or sorrel, yellow
a buckskin, blue a blue horse, black a black, etc. Pintos were first
painted black, then white spots were added. The figures were executed
[413] in earth paints. Willow sticks about 4 inches long, "pointed at
one end like a pencil" served for brushes. Informants believed the
532 more detailed horse figures painted on skins in the 1880's and later
177 years at the request of white men were the work of Indian artists
whose styles had been influenced by the art of white men.[illegible]

THE BLACKFOOT WARRIOR IDEAL

702 Individual participation in either horse or scalp raids was always
voluntary. Yet so great was the value placed upon warlike deeds in
Blackfoot culture, and so obvious were the rewards of successful theft
of enemy horses, that few able-bodied young men refrained from
participation.

702 When a boy was born it was customary for his father to hold him
up toward the sun, and pray, "Oh Sun! Make this boy strong and
703 brave. May he die in battle rather than from old age or sickness."
As he grew older the boy's father and other male relatives pointed out
to him the most distinguished warriors at the Sun Dance encampments
and recited their deeds of valor to him as an encouragement to the lad
to emulate their worthy actions. Ambition to distinguish themselves
served to minimize young men's fears of the hazards of warfare.
702 Certainly the warpath offered the surest road to fame. As one
554 elderly informant said, "A young man's best way to get his name up
was through war."

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[171] [illegible] Blackfoot paintings of horses never evidenced the lively action and decorative quality of the outlined, polychrome figures rendered by Teton Dakota and Cheyenne artists (Ewers, 1939, pp. 32-35). In recent years Victor Pepion, a Blackfoot artist, painter of the murals in the Museum of the Plains Indian at Browning, has been recognized among the number of capable young Plains Indian painters.

bers of earlier generations was a check upon the coining of new names 551
and tended to perpetuate the old ones from generation to generation 178
(Wissler, 1911, p. 17). One name, Boy, can be traced back to the 18th century. It was the name of David Thompson's principal informant among the Piegan in 1787, an aged Cree who had lived among the Piegan since his young manhood. The name was borne by one of the Piegan chiefs whom Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 157) met at Fort McKenzie in the summer of 1833. It was the name of a band chief in the mid-19th century, and was assumed by the Gros Ventres boy whom that chief adopted. The latter was the paternal grandfather of the young artist, Calvin Boy, who executed a number of the illustrations in this publication.

There is evidence that some wealthy horse owners received names 551
denoting that fact. Examples were Many Horses and Many White 231
Horses, prominent Piegan. It appears certain, however, that Blackfoot acquisition and use of horses did not strongly influence their pattern of name selection. Names referring to wild animals and birds of the Blackfoot Country have continued to predominate over horse names among the full-blood population to the present day.

HORSES AS GIFTS

Because of its value and usefulness the Blackfoot considered a horse 431
one of the most desirable of gifts, bringing satisfaction to the recipient 231
and honor to the donor for his generosity. One of the surest ways for a man to "get his name up," to rise to a position of leadership [554]
in his band, was through frequent and liberal gifts of horses to needy band members. Poor people sometimes took advantage of this custom by offering a wealthy man's child a present of little value or praising the man loudly in public in the hope of obtaining the gift of a horse in return. A poor woman owning nothing but a little pemmican or dried meat might take it to the lodge of a wealthy man and offer it to his child. The man, touched by her apparent generosity, might give her a horse a hundred times more valuable than her gift.[illegible]

More formal give-aways took place at the annual Sun Dance 431
encampment. Visitors usually were present from friendly tribes (primarily other Blackfoot tribes). They were called upon by name and given gifts of horses, blankets, weapons, parfleches, or articles of clothing by the wealthy men and warriors who danced in the medicine lodge. The give-away has survived among the Indians of the Blackfeet Reservation, Mont. In the period of my residence on that reserva-

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[illegible] Tixier (1940, p. 200) observed a similar action among the Osage in 1840. When a visiting Kansa noticed a number of excellent horses in front of an Osage lodge he found out the owner's name then went about the village proclaiming the virtues of that man until he gave him one of his horses. [171]

175 buffalo horse, was the greatest asset of the race horse, for the course,
as a rule, was a lengthy one. No other horse was as highly prized by
541 the Blackfoot as was the winning racer.

231 Indirectly the horse influenced other forms of Blackfoot recreation.
I have described (pp. 236–238) the introduction of horse symbolism
231 into the intersociety hoop and pole game. The common employment
182 of valuable horses as stakes in gambling must have encouraged interest
[526] in other games of chance even though the games themselves may have
been known to the Blackfoot in earlier times.
[525]

INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL LIFE

174 During the Pedestrian Culture Period, when men literally stood
on an equal footing, class distinctions must have been less marked than
565 in historic times. The cooperative hunt was an organization of near
556 equals in which the kill was equally divided among participating
182 families. Limited transportation facilities inhibited the accumulation of property and militated against social stratification based upon
● [554] wealth. Undoubtedly individuals who achieved outstanding war records or possessed supernatural powers to call the buffalo (beaver bundle owners), to cure the sick, or to perform acts of magic attained positions of distinction and leadership which ranked them above the average man.

175 After the introduction of horses permitted the accumulation of
property, social status came to depend less upon a man's physical
231 and mental qualities and more upon the number and quality of his
182 possessions. A class system began to develop in which there were
565 rich, middle-class, and poor families, distinguished primarily on the
556 basis of their relative wealth or poverty in horses.

The rich man owned not only the most horses but generally the best ones as well. Wealth in horses permitted rich men to care for and use their animals so as to increase their numbers and enhance their value. Rich men owned the largest and best-furnished lodges, the finest clothing, and the most sacred and valuable medicine bundles. They also enjoyed certain privileges denied the other classes. They had the widest choice of mates in marriage and could take the most wives. They could even get away with murder by presenting horses to relatives of the deceased man. On the other hand, the rich man was expected to accept responsibilities which men of the other classes did not shoulder. He was expected to assist the poor through gifts of food and horses and loans of horses for buffalo hunting and moving camp. He was expected to be generous in his hospitality and liberal in his barter with others. Probably no one was more genuinely disliked by the majority of the Blackfoot than the stingy man of wealth.

411 loader proved an ineffective cavalry weapon, because of the difficulty
of reloading it on a running horse. The Blackfoot hunter and warrior
182 continued to employ the traditional bow and arrow as his principal
726 fire weapon until the introduction of breech-loading rifles in
1870, a decade before the disappearance of the buffalo.

439 One change in the material culture of the Blackfoot (and other
Plains Indians) that some writers have attributed to the influence
177 of the horse should properly be credited to fur-trade influence. That
323 is the decline and disappearance of pottery making among the
nomadic tribes. I do not believe the introduction of horses had anything
to do with that change. The earthen pot could have been transported
just as safely and more easily on horseback or the horse-drawn
[415] travois as on the dog travois. The disappearance of pottery was due
to the substitution of the metal trade kettle for the native-made clay
vessel (Ewers, 1945 a, p. 296).

439 It is difficult to see that the fur trade materially influenced Blackfoot
social or political organization save through the disastrous epidemics
731 introduced by way of its river craft, which compelled band
182 reorganization after the plagues were spent. Those chiefs who
621 gained in prestige through their close association with the traders
generally were men of outstanding accomplishment by Indian standards.
177 Lesser traders who married Indian women may have helped
to raise the status of these women's families thereby. However, it
439 is doubtful if the marriage of Alexander Culbertson, the most influential
554 trader in the Blackfoot Country, to the Blood woman, Natawista
Iksana, greatly strengthened the position of her brother, Seen-From-Afar. He was the son of the Blood head chief, and a man of ability, so recognized by his own people. He is still remembered as "the great chief" who owned more horses than any other Blood Indian.

SURVIVALS

178 Many traits characteristic of the Horse Culture Period in Blackfoot
history were abandoned in the period 1880–1905. Extermination
231 of the buffalo eliminated the horse's important functions in hunting. Settlement in permanent log houses eliminated the horse's functions in moving camp. Enforcement of intertribal peace brought an end to horse raiding and the use of horses in warfare. In this period, when local authority passed from the native chiefs to the Indian Agent, who attempted to carry out the national Indian policy of the time, i. e., encouragement of Indians to adopt white men's ways, some of the traits most intimately associated with Indian use of horses were drastically modified. The Indians adopted the white man's stock saddle and bridle, his method of mounting, his wagon and harness, his names for horses, and his horse commands. Even the

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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a, Makes-Cold-Weather, aged Piegan warrior, counting four horse-raiding coups before cutting the hide in the Sun Dance, 1944. (Courtesy Museum of the Plains Indian.) *b*, A Blood Indian horse raider expiating his vow to undergo self-torture in the Sun Dance lodge, 1892. (Photograph by R. N. Wilson. Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[p.358-P]

> enemy to be a slave in the other world except the warrior who had actually killed 175 721
> him; the scalps you hold are trophies of the Battle but they give you no right to the 727
> soul of the enemy from whom it was taken; he alone who kills an enemy has a right
> to the soul, and to give it to be a slave to whom he pleases. This decision did not 539
> please them, but they were obliged to abide by it."[186] 775

While this concept is to be found in almost identical form among the 171
Winnebago,[187] the writer knows of no other Plains tribe for whom it was 721
reported. From this it would appear that Blackfoot warfare contained some
elements of Woodland ideology in the 1730's,[188] but the methods of fighting 726
differed from the Woodland man to man style, and had become well
adapted to the conditions of the Plains.[188a]

The large scale warfare that was described above demanded a good de- 175
gree of centralized leadership and Thompson's account of Piegan chieftain- 722
ship (1787) suggests that there was a clearly differentiated tribal war chief 624
of more or less permanence, with authority limited to war matters and war 781
periods. 554

> "They (Piegan) have a civil and military Chief. The first was called Sakatow, or
> orator, and the office appeared hereditary in his family as his father had been the [622]
> civil Chief, and his eldest son was to take his place at his death, and occasionally [539]
> acted for him . . . , his insignia of office was the backs of two fine otterskins covered
> with mother of pearl, which from behind his neck hung down his breast to below the
> belt; When his son acted for him he always had this ornament on him. In every council he presided except one of war. He had couriers which went from camp to camp and brought news . . . of where the great bison herds were feeding, and of the direction they were taking."
>
> "The War Chief confined himself to war matters and the care of the camp of which
> he was, which was generally of fifty to one hundred tents, generally a full day's
> march nearer to the Snake Indians than any other camp. It was supposed he looked [622]
> on the Civil chief with indifference as a garrulous old man more fit for talking than
> for anything else, and they rarely camped together."[189]

This comparison of the peace chief and war chief seems to attribute an 622
equal degree of permanence to both offices. But the existence of a war chief 624
as over against the temporary leader of small parties is suggested even more 175

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[186] Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 332–333. 726

[187] Paul Radin, *The Winnebago*, p. 144. See his description of the four nights wake. 554

[188] Our only later reference to this concept among the Blackfoot is found in Maximilian. A Piegan had been killed by some Bloods and the dead man's brother made this speech to the weeping relatives. "Why do you lament and cry?—see, I do not cry! he is gone into the other country and we cannot awaken him; but at least two Blood Indians must accompany him and wait upon him there." Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 23, p. 14.

[188a] "War in the open Plains between the natives is very different from war in the woods; in the former they act as a body in concert in all their movements, in the woods it is almost Man to Man." See Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

[189] Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 346, 347.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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622 strongly from the following description referring to an event in about 1750.
624 The Piegan were eighty miles below the Bow River and were undecided
175 whether to go further south because of their fear of the Shoshone.

> 726 "After consultation it was agreed to send out a war chief with about fifty warriors to examine the country a few days journey. The chief soon collected his warriors and
> [724] having examined their arms, and having seen that every one had two pairs of shoes, some dried provisions and other necessaries, in the evening *the principal war chief* (my emphasis) addressed the chief at the head of the party; reminding him that the warriors now accompanying him would steadily follow him, that they were sent to destroy their enemies, that he must be wise and cautious and bring back the warriors entrusted to his care."[180]

175 So long as fighting was regularly carried on by large massed forces the
726 war chief had a definite function. However, subsequent changes in methods
178 of warfare affected his role. The battle described earlier in this paper which
took place in the 1730's marked the beginning of a transition period which
624 was explained by Thompson's informant. (1787)

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> [539] "The terror of that battle and our guns has prevented more general battles, and our wars have since been carried on by ambuscade and surprise of small camps in which we have greatly the advantage, from our Guns, arrow shods of iron, long knives, flat bayonets and axes from the Traders."[181]

With the increase in smaller war parties so characteristic of the later period, there was a corresponding decline in the position of the war chief, who disappeared entirely by the middle of the nineteenth century when the temporary leader of small war parties became the rule. This explains a discrepancy in the literature whereby some have reported the office of a tribal war chief and others have claimed no knowledge of it. Our last reference to the war chief as described above is found in MacLeans report of 1885.[182] In all later accounts the emphasis is upon the leader of small parties.

178 It is tempting to draw a further inference from our last quotation,
721 namely, that the small raiding party did not exist in pre-horse Blackfoot
culture. However, in the face of the widespread distribution of the small
726 war party in North America more evidence would be necessary for such a
conclusion. It is more probable that both the pattern of the large scale
warfare and the small war party existed side by side earlier, as they did in
[411] the nineteenth century. The question is really one of their relative importance. We intend to show that the horse and gun increased the use of

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[180] *Ibid.*, p. 342.

[181] *Ibid.*, p. 336.

[182] Rev. John MacLean, "Social Organization of the Blackfoot Indians," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, p. 252 (1892).

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178 very important as a medicine object, deriving its power from the symbols
224 painted upon it.[166]

411 The camp circle is recent among the Blackfoot. When Henday visited
714 the Blackfoot in 1754 he came upon 200 tents camped in two parallel lines
(778) with an open avenue between them.[167] Jenness suggests that this arrange-
175 ment was "very satisfactory for repelling slow infantry attacks, but not the
178 sudden raids of mobile horsemen."[168] Undoubtedly the adoption of the
712 camp circle was also related to their attempts to protect their newly ac-
361 quired horses from raiding parties, for Maximilian tells us that horses
were kept in corrals within the camp circle.[169] The origin of the camp circle
721 among the Blackfoot may therefore tentatively be attributed to the changes
in warfare consequent to the introduction of the horse on the Plains.[170]

721 More important, warfare had become an integral part of the new Black-
foot economy. To better understand this relationship we must consider
433 briefly the role of the horse in Blackfoot economy.

231 The importance of horses can be gauged by the extensive native ter-
minology used to describe them. The writer has gathered more than
twenty terms describing the types and qualities of horses. Horses were
classified according to their functions, as race horses, war horses, travois
horses and pack horses; and by their special abilities, as "horses that can
go long distances", "horses that can run in deep snow", etc. It is clear that
horses were valued for their aid in hunting, in war and in transportation.
[436] But, in addition to their utilitarian and productive values, horses became
[556] a medium of exchange and the main form of wealth.

231 The accumulation of wealth, the manipulation of property, spending,
buying, and selling, dominated Blackfoot life. Social position depended
556 upon the liberal use of wealth, ostentatious display, and other forms of
social investment. Every step in religious and secular ritual involved
property payments, and the number of horses that changed hands in the
bundle transfers, and the buying into societies was truly remarkable.
[554] The ownership of horses therefore became a major index of social status.
000 The ownership of horses had still further importance, for horses were

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[756] [166] An attempt on the part of the American Fur Co. to introduce polished metal
shields was effectively blocked by the medicine men who as Bradley tells us, "would
[434] have thus been deprived of an important source of revenue." Bradley, *op. cit.*, Vol.
9, p. 282.

[167] Henday, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

[168] Diamond Jenness, *The Sarsi*, p. 13.

[169] The arrangement of two parallel lines was used in marching, as is described in Stanley's account of 1854. ". . . in less than one hour the whole encampment was drawn out in two parallel lines on the Plains, forming one of the most picturesque scenes I have ever witnessed." *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1854), p. 200.

[170] Idem.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The ownership of horses had still further importance, for horses were 231
used as capital, earning interest for the owner in the form of a "gift" of 471
additional horses or equivalent property from the borrower. When a man
had a number of horses over and above the domestic needs of his family, 426
the surplus could be loaned out. With the accumulation of large herds this lending of horses became general. Horses were borrowed for use in hunting and war parties. The borrower had to give in return one half of the game killed, and one half of the loot captured.[171] In this way, owners of huge herds, who had long given up the war path, could replenish their supply of horses by frequently lending them to poor young men.

A large surplus of horses was not necessary for lending. Men who were too old to hunt and old women who had no relatives upon whom to rely, could secure food and clothing for themselves if they owned but two horses. Horses were looked upon as a source of security in one's old age, a point oft repeated to young men.

Horses were also in demand at the trading posts and were used by the 231
Blackfoot to pay for goods, ammunition, liquor, tobacco, and other sup- 436
plies. As we have seen, the Blackfoot never took to the trapping of small 439
game on a large scale. They had few furs for exchange before the 1830's
and relied upon horses almost from the start. Blackfoot horse trading was [175]
carried on as early as 1774, as shown by Cocking.[172] This need for horses, both for the tribal economy and for trading purposes, gave continual impetus to horse-stealing parties.

The organization of a raiding party was a purely individual affair. A 721
party was organized by the man who wished to be the leader. He notified a number of carefully selected men of his intentions and arranged for a meeting at which the plans would be discussed. Participation in a raiding party was determined by rank, equipment, and the relationship to the
leader. The party normally was composed of members of one band; brothers [621]
and brothers-in-law were a favorite raiding unit for they could thereby
keep the horses in the family. The leader never invited a man superior to 721
him in war record nor would such a man raid under him. Similarly, a poor 554
man would not attempt to lead a group of wealthier men, even though they were younger.[173] A man of high status, whether it be in terms of war record,

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[171] The rigidity of the interest concept could not be ascertained, though all informants insisted upon the fifty percent principle. Probably much depended upon the relationship of the "contracting" parties. A somewhat different arrangement is reported by Jane Richardson for the Northern Blackfoot. Here the hired men under the famous chief, Crowfoot, gave him the entire loot and catch in return for which they were fed and clothed by the chief and received some horses upon their marriage. See J. Richardson, *Northern Blackfoot*, Mss.

[172] Cocking, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[173] A poor man, "kimataps" is one who has not or never had any valuable property [556]
or religious articles. A man with a good war record would not be called "kimataps" though he may have little or no property.

721 wealth in horses or the ownership of medicine bundles, would refuse to be
554 led by one of lower standing. Not only were the poor rarely leaders, but
[556] they often had difficulty in joining a raiding party, for participation was
limited to those who had the necessary equipment—a gun, powder and
ammunition, a good supply of moccasins, dried provisions, protective war
charms, and, when the party went on horse, a good horse.

721 With adequate skill, any member of the tribe could produce the equip-
ment necessary for the early type of warfare, but the new equipment, guns
554 and ammunition, could be purchased from the trading posts only by those
556 who had a surplus of horses, dried provisions or hides. This put the poor
184 at a distinct disadvantage, and was a check upon vertical mobility. This
[439] also gave a new paternalistic role to the chief as a distributor of valuable
goods.

721 Differences between rich and poor were reflected in their participation
in war in still another way. Not owning war bonnets, beautiful head-
556 dresses, or medicine pipes, the poor went to the hills to seek supernatural
184 power for a successful war party, while those who could afford it bought
[787] their charms from renowned medicine men. Despite this handicap, inform-
[778] ants relate that the poor were the most daring on horse-stealing parties,
[432] for they had the least to lose and the most to gain.

Normally, raiding parties started out in the early spring, the summer
721 or the fall, rarely the winter, for the Blackfoot did not like to go out in cold
weather. A wise leader would leave at nightfall, travel until dawn, and
[342] then rest during the day in shelters constructed in the foot-hills.

The function of the leader consisted mainly in enforcing simple precau-
721 tionary rules, such as prohibiting a fire for cooking, or the shooting of
701 game once in enemy territory. Every party had one or two scouts who
reported to the leader. When the party neared the camp of the enemy the
leader decided who was to do the raiding. If the party was small it would
break up, every man for himself, and arrange to meet at an appointed
spot. In other cases, the leader ordered some to stay, usually the inex-
perienced or the poorer ones, while the leader, alone or with a choice few,
went for the horses. This rear guard duty was resented for there was a
possibility that they would not be allowed to share the loot. The chief
[431] might present them with a horse, a gift which they were expected to
[727] acknowledge at the victory dance.[174] Many parties broke up because of this,
those ordered to remain behind often disobeying and going out for their
own horses. In cases where the party was mounted and had ambushed the
enemy, this individualism was even more marked. It was every man for
[727] himself with a great deal of snatching and bickering over the loot, even
among brothers.

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[174] J. Richardson, Mss.

The leader divided the loot, irrespective of whether he obtained the 721
horses or remained behind, provided, of course, that the party had not 727
broken up. If a split occurred, every man retained what he had gotten 701
and there were no recriminations. In the division of the spoils, the leader
was guided by the relative age and status of the men and by their part in
capturing the horses. It is not clear from the material how these considerations
were weighted. In no case did the leader return empty-handed. Unlike
the Comanche, the Blackfoot were not content with the prestige of
leadership alone.[175]

The return of a successful war party was an impressive event and occasioned 727
general rejoicing and feasting. The party stopped a few miles from
the camp, painted their faces, put on their war clothing, and drove quietly
to the top of a hill overlooking the camp. "There they would begin the
war song, whip the horses to a mad run, and firing guns and driving before
them animals they had taken, charge swiftly down the hill into the bottom."[176]

If there were only a few casualties, or if the casualties befell men of little 727
importance or with few relatives, a victory dance would be held, at which 431
there was much exchange of property. Young, unmarried men gave most
of their captured horses to older relatives. Since one principle of the division
of loot was age, distribution of even a few gifts soon exhausted the loot of
the young men. Young men had to go to war from six to ten times before [556]
they could accumulate enough horses for an impressive bride price. In [583]
giving away their loot they were establishing a source of future credit and [182]
aid in joining societies or in raising a bride price. Married men retained
more for themselves and went to war less frequently than the unmarried.
Scalps given to relatives or friends were repaid by a gift of a buckskin suit [437]
or a horse. Modern informants emphasize the trade value of scalps.[177]

The classical view of nineteenth century Plains warfare is that it was in 721
the nature of a sporting game for honor, prestige and scalps. If this were
true at all, it was, for the Blackfoot, characteristic of the period before the
introduction of the horse and gun, and loot in horses as the dominating
motive. Coup was largely ruled out in the parties organized for raiding 721
because of the necessity for stealth and the desire to avoid face to face 555
encounters. While it is true that the capture of a picketed horse rated high
as a war deed, it did not compare with the taking of a gun and was not a
formal requirement for chieftainship. As a matter of fact, the seeking of
coup was confined to defensive encounters where the possibility of loot was

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[175] See E. Adamson Hoebel, "The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians," *Memoirs of the Amer. Anthro. Assoc.*, Number 54, 1940.

[176] Schultz, *My Life as an Indian*, p. 47.

[177] J. Richardson, Mss.

721 necessarily ruled out. Defensive battles were the occasion for a show of
555 bravery, for the capture of guns, shields and bonnets. The prestige derived
from the counting of these coup and from the ceremonial recitation of war
[178] deeds, though present, was in later years overshadowed by the prestige of
wealth.

● 554 The relative importance of war honors and wealth can be judged from the
556 fact that bravery and war deeds, the usual requirements for chieftainship
on the Plains, though important, were here not essential. There were many
622 chiefs who had never been on the warpath but who had achieved their
[555] position by their kindness, generosity, good judgement and wealth.[178]
Even a coward, "kopum", one who feared the warpath, could become a
chief, provided he had accumulated sufficient wealth to attract followers.
By giving frequent feasts, spreading gifts judiciously and buying into the
beaver and medicine-pipe societies, any man could gain considerable prestige. This is made more striking when we compare the place of war honors
[191] and the counting of coups in Crow life with that among the Blackfoot.
The Crow had an elaborate and systematic grading of war honors which was
[556] absent among the Blackfoot.

We have indicated earlier that large war parties were used to keep the
726 Plateau tribes out of the Plains. Large parties were also occasioned by two
other situations. First, in attacks against the trading posts where the motive
was solely loot, and second, when the people felt the death of a prominent
warrior or chief at the hands of an enemy as a tribal loss. In such cases,
[628] parties were organized in the spring or summer when the bands came together for the Sun Dance. The revenge parties were composed of members
[796] of a few bands, rarely of the whole tribe. It is significant that even on these
revenge parties, and this applies both to the large and the small, loot was
never overlooked.

726 There were, however, fundamental differences between the organization
and motives of the large parties of pre-horse days and those of later ones.
178 The latter were no more than expanded raiding parties. That is, the large
party of warriors broke up into small units which acted like the small
raiding party intent upon plunder instead of maintaining a unified army
under centralized control.

177 The existence of highly organized warfare among the Blackfoot in the
pre-horse period is of special interest in view of the fact that the coming of
178 the horse has become associated in a general way with the development of
231 a high degree of political organization. This process has been shown for the
[191] southern Ute of Colorado where the advent of the horse consolidated the
small family groups into large bands and transformed a peaceful, retiring

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[178] A favored son was not expected to go on the warpath but often became a chief.

Achieving Prestige

Inevitably, the activities of the man without horses or with only a few 554
were limited. While his personal bravery might be unquestioned, the poor 556
man could not hope to organise or direct a war party—the chief road to
social recognition—for no man of greater wealth would submit to his leadership.[41]
Eager to participate in a hunt or raid but lacking a fast horse, he [426]
was forced to borrow from a wealthy patron, sometimes handing over as
much as one-half the game killed or one-half the loot captured. To be sure, [555]
the man who attained years of discretion and still possessed no horse must
have been strikingly deficient in initiative or ability or both, but a poor boy,
even when he was well endowed with these admirable qualities, might never
become a man of substantial wealth or a leader in the community.

There is no doubt that, as Mr. Duvall claims, "poor young men have [555]
gone on the warpath, captured horses, bought fine clothes, and medicine
bundles and become leaders among the people,"[42] but they had to overcome
many obstacles that the sons of rich men never had to face. These favored
youths, who expected their fathers' poor followers to supply the household
with the necessary food and skins, could participate more frequently in the
rewarding war parties and win prestige while still comparatively young.[43]
The sons of the very rich might even spurn this activity. Beautifully clothed,
continually honored by their parents with expensive purchases of privilege,
and assured of their bride price, these *minipoka*, or "children of plenty"
as Uhlenbeck translates the term,[44] were urged to shun the warpath altogether.
The exhortations of their fathers could not have differed much from [171]
that of the Cree who said, "Here, my son, dress yourself. This is no way to
be. I never bid you go to the scenes I need not name; I love you too much.
Poor men are they who go on the warpath, (note well!) for they hope to
steal horses; but you, your horse is handsome; he is fleet of foot. And you
yourself are handsome; you are not poor. . . . "[45] Such advice was often [156]
rejected[46] but some "dandies," contrary to the manly ideal asserted in their [181]
society, were content to remain at home. J. H. Bradley observes, "Not in-

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father had sixty horses." At another time he observed that his father had "turned [556]
over his whole herd of horses to me (about 100)" at the time of his marriage in 1905.
This last figure is conventionally given to the question, "How many horses would [231]
a rich man own?" (For corroboration, see Ewer, *Ibid.*). [175]

[41] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 55. [114]

[42] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 280.

[43] Bernard Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare Among the Plains Indians*, p. 47.

[44] C. C. Uhlenbeck and R. H. van Gulik, *A Blackfoot-English Vocabulary*, p. 226.

[45] Leonard Bloomfield, *Cree Texts*, p. 63 ff.

[46] Most spectacularly by Owl Boy, the valiant son of Mountain Chief (S. Piegan). The Blood tell of no such hero. Wissler (*Social Life*, p. 30) claims that despite such urgings the young man always went on the warpath, but his own further statement would seem to belie this. (See text p. 8 and footnote 48.)

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

● 554 frequently . . . they [the young men] are great drones, lounging in the vil-
556 lage, participating neither in the war nor the chase. . . . "[47] Obviously, these
"drones" trusted to their fathers' wealth to bring them positions of re-
[157] spect—and this trust was not misplaced. Bravery and war deeds remained
[622] an asset to leadership, but among the Blackfoot, "great deeds in social and
ceremonial life would alone elevate one to the status of headman."[48]

556 Blackfoot society offered considerable opportunity for vertical mobility.
555 Disease, accidents of climate, misfortunes of gambling might reduce and, at
times, even wipe out large herds, but the mere fact that great numbers of
horses could be accumulated and held for a considerable period led to certain advantage. Manipulation through purchase, give-aways, and other forms of ostentatious display in no way destroyed this advantage. Shrewdly exercised, they built up great prestige and reliable support.[49]

Rivalry and Violence

578 Cooperative mechanisms, emphasizing interpersonal responsibilities both
182 within the family and within the larger social group (band and men's
621 societies) counteracted to some degree the competitive trends, but these
trends continued nevertheless to dominate Blackfoot life. Rivalry for
recognition and power was so keen that it "often led to assassination and
621 other dark deeds."[50] As early as 1808, Alexander Henry notes with consider-
578 able feeling the difficulties of the traders in dealing with the Blackfoot, but
181 he leaves no doubt that within the tribes, Blackfoot behavior was equally
unpredictable and destructive to peaceful relations. Regarding the Piegan,
[834] he wrote:

[837]
> They have frequent quarrels which may end in bloodshed or death; for though they are lavish in offering their women to the whites. . .they are exceedingly jealous among themselves. These quarrels, however, seldom last long, nor do they affect the whole tribe; the woman being killed, reconciliation is immediate and all are friends again.[51]

Other Blackfoot tribes were certainly no better:

> The Cold Band are notoriously a set of audacious villains. The Blood are still worse, always inclined to mischief and murder.[52]

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[47] Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 272. Bradley commenced writing down his impressions in 1871 when he was stationed at frontier army posts, most particularly Fort Benton and Fort Shaw, and continued to do so until his death in 1877. (*Ibid.*, p. 7.)

[48] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 23. It is possible that this was a development of the late buffalo period.

[49] *Idem.*

[50] *Idem.*

[51] Alexander Henry and David Thompson, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 722. Cf. also Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

[52] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

556 bided his time in marriage and told his friend, Flesh Taster, that "he was
557 looking for someone suitable to him, even though she might be older."
[464] Finally he sought a vision and acquired medicine power. What money he
earned he put into horses and proceeded to validate his prestige in the traditional
[454] way. He bought bundles "with the idea of being a priest some day."
[432] He had observed how comfortable a living "bishops" made, and he aspired
to become one. Today he earns about $300 as a Horn priest and $600 as a
[465] medicine doctor, "more when there is an epidemic."

464 But the opportunities for remunerative work were scarce and few young
men had either Many Rattles' ambition or foresight. Farming and what
556 little herding there was may have raised the subsistence level, but they
brought no substantial increase in income. The young man's position became
increasingly insecure. It was difficult to get a job, it was difficult to
get a wife, it was difficult to get a horse, and the prestige and advantage
that followed the buying of ceremonial objects was therefore denied him.
[685] To find a place in the new society he had to revert to the patterns of the
past, even when they were forbidden. The 1887–1888 report states, "War
parties [were] composed mostly of young men from 16–25 years of age . . ."[87]
These were raids upon the neighboring herds, and usually the Government
cut short a brave career with a jail sentence.

● 554 The chasm between rich and poor was widening. When an old medicine
556 man was asked, "Who is *istuisanaps?* Who gets respect?" he answered,
[461] "Those people who are born of rich people and maintain their riches. Also
those rich in prestige from bundles and war exploits," and finally he added,
"a rich man must have acquired his riches through earnest, honest, hard
labor."[88] For today as well as yesterday "respect" is usually phrased in
terms of war exploits and ceremonial ownership. It is therefore most revealing
that this medicine man who spent his young days bucking the concentration
of horse wealth in the first years of the reserve period, should feel
his early struggle so intensely that only secondarily does he define "respect"
in the traditional manner. His final remarks are perhaps an apology
for the "new" rich who do not buy ceremonial objects but receive covert
[178] "respect" from the group. Earnest, honest, hard labor was not rewarded in
a distant past.[89] Skill, daring, and ambition were more apt to have brought
success.

184 CHILD STATUS AND WEALTH.—Children of the rich were set apart from
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[87] 1888, Vol. 13, No. 15, p. 108. The report adds "Red Crow and the older men and chiefs strongly object to this horse stealing." In this, they followed a pattern at least as old as 1809. "The old men," reads the Journal of Henry and Thompson, p. 546, "redoubled their exertions to keep the young ones in order."

[88] Biele, Field Notes.

[89] Mishkin, *op. cit.*, p. 53, for a similar rephrasing.

Seizers.[158] Excepting for the Horns, who present a special problem, member- 575
ship falls off noticeably in the upper grades. This may well have been the
tendency in the pre-reserve period, for increasing age, limited bundles,[159] [178]
and selective memberships[160] were all considerations then. They figure [424]
equally prominently in the reserve period; but with the introduction of a
money economy divorced from a horse economy, a large sector of the population voluntarily cut itself off from ceremonial purchase. Successful farm- 575
ers, who had only enough horses for their agricultural needs, were unwilling 184
to jeopardize their profits by paying out valuable animals for old-time 626
"respect." From 1910–1920, the wealthy horse and cattle owners (who at [556]
that time also had sufficient cash) were little concerned with this heretical attitude; but their almost unrelieved poverty since 1920 (except for horses) has made them more sensitive to the continued refusal of this group to participate in the traditional way. In 1939, though waning membership was not an issue, the Horn Society exerted tremendous pressure on the richest farmer to join its ranks. His two fine teams and well-rigged buggy, his bolts of cloth and many blankets made an impressive display at the public transfer. But he himself showed little appreciation of the honor accorded him. "Blackmail," he called it, and his complaints both before and after initiation were many and loud.

The Pigeons, the youngest of the graded societies,[161] are having difficulties 575
too, but these are difficulties of membership. Ideally, each group is supposed 424
to sell out after four years, but the present owners have had to hold their
bundles for more than seven. The younger men are reluctant to make even [556]
the nominal payment of "$5.00 and a couple of blankets," for the questionable advantage of traditional privilege. 575

A combination of factors has contributed to the exceptional popularity 554 ●
of the Horns: (1) they merged with the Bulls, thus increasing the number [754]
of memberships available; (2) only in this society do the wives join with [837]
[577]

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[158] These data and those which follow on the Women's Society, Sun Lodge builders, [114]
medicine pipes and beaver bundles were collected in the main by Marjorie Lismer
and Harry D. Biele. Unfortunately, limited time and the great size of the reserve [128]
made extensive checking impossible. They are offered here, not as a completely accurate record, but in the belief that, in a general way, they reflect certain broad social trends.

For comparison, cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, pp. 365–6 and 369. For an early list of Blackfoot societies, see Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 255 ff.

[159] Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 386.

[160] *Idem.*

[161] Wissler has made a point for society rank based on "assumed seniority in [554]
historical origin" (*Blackfoot Societies*, p. 368). Such an assumption would be strengthened by the position of the Pigeons who are not listed by Wissler as late as 1910 for the Blood.

575 their husbands; (3) each prospective buyer has a partner (formerly these
554 were bachelors, often not more than boys, whose families were willing and
[754] able to "see them through"); (4) members of the Horn are the most feared
[837] group among the Blood (those who buy the "painted root"[162] can sorcerize,
but even the lesser members, it is believed, have power "so great that to
[577] wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed for realization"[163]); (5) adultery, a great tension point in the culture, is sanctioned in the Horns (individual sorcery power can only be acquired after the seller has had ceremonial intercourse with the buyer's wife); (6) jealousy is proscribed (self-control for the Blood is difficult at best, but its achievement by members of the Horn brings great social approval); (7) the Horns are now the oldest ranking society. Those who have been through it can go no further, but many can and do rejoin it.

Of the 130 who have been members at some time,

61 have bought in once
33 have bought in twice
22 have bought in three times
11 have bought in four times
1 has bought in six times
2 have bought in eight times.

575 Despite Catholic injunctions against joining the Horns (because of the
424 ceremonially sanctioned adultery), and despite the lack of interest on the
[798] part of those without horses, the demand for Horn bundles seems to be
greater than the supply. While others find no bidders or are falling in value
[837] (the Long Time Pipe which sold for a hundred and for fifty horses at an
[435] earlier time, sold for twenty in 1939), the leader's lance of the Horn Society that same year brought fourteen horses and much goods, the approximate cost.[164] Wissler quoting a Piegan's statement made shortly after 1910 writes:

> 575 Bad-old-man bought into the mosquitoes while he was quite young but after his
> 424 marriage. This was before the pigeons were started. For this membership he paid
> a gun and clothing. At the end of four years he sold out and joined the braves at a
> 432 cost of some blankets and clothing. After three years he sold his membership in the braves and bought into the all-brave-dogs. Now, it happened that he purchased this membership from his own son-in-law and he gave as the purchase price his youngest daughter. After three years he sold his membership in the all-brave-dogs and purchased a place in the front-tails, paying a horse. After four years he sold out and purchased into the raven-bearers for which he paid a horse. The next summer he

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[824]
[162] *Ibid.*, p. 413. Wissler calls this prairie-turnip.
[163] *Ibid.*, p. 411.
[164] Harry D. Biele notes that twenty-two horses were promised but that considerably fewer were delivered.

joined the horns as he was then living with the Blood. For this he paid a horse, a 575
gun, a saddle, and many blankets.[185] 424

Ordinary memberships in the Horn today bring no less. Many bring con- [432]
siderably more. The society's transfer ceremony was the most spectacular [796]
event at the Sun Dance.

Dance Societies[186]

A number of these associations still flourish on the reserve. Their mem- 575
bership problems are not formidable since their purpose is social and their 535
fees nominal, mostly contributions of food at the time of the dance.

The Women's Society[187]

The *Maioki*, as the Women's Society is called, raised their lodge at the 575
Sun Dance and, assisted by six men—four singers and two messengers—cli- [796]
maxed a four-day ceremony by imitating buffalo driven into the park. In
1939, fifteen women participated, all of them well beyond their prime. The [424]
leader's pole which, according to Mr. Duvall, cost "twelve horses and an
appropriate amount of other property" has not changed hands for forty [435]
years, although "like the horns and other societies the members sell, or [425]
transfer, to others usually . . . at the same time."[188]

The Sun Lodge

With the exception of three years, the Sun Lodge has been raised annually 796
since 1910, sixteen women vowing it, sometimes two of them jointly:[189]

1 woman vowed the Sun Lodge but did not put it up
10 women put up the Sun Lodge once (one year two jointly)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge twice
2 women put up the Sun Lodge three times (one, once with a woman who raised it five times)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge four times
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge five times (four times since 1929 alone and once with one of the women who raised it three times)

The demand for chastity before marriage and fidelity after may have 836
eliminated a goodly number, but one informant felt sure that that was not 554
796
837
[194]

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[185] Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 426 ff.

[186] *Ibid.*, p. 451 ff.

[187] *Ibid.*, p. 430 ff.

[188] *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 432.

[189] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes. For a full discussion of the Sun Dance and the building of the Sun Lodge, see Wissler, *The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians*, pp. 220-270.

856 the only reason for the limited participation. "There are a lot of women on
554 this reserve who could put up a Sun Lodge, but don't want to." While their
796 virtue might be unassailable, she was convinced that they either could not
837 muster enough wealth, or did not care to meet the considerable demands
[778] for buying the *natoas* bundle,[170] putting up the lodge and staging a give-
[184] away.

182 The rewards of chastity unsupported by property are limited indeed. In
431 1939, the Sun Lodge vower only gave two horses away. The transferrer
796 asked by an interested bystander how he "had come out," laughed and
425 answered, "I never did as badly as this time." The crowd, well-aware that
there was to be no give-away, showed little interest in the proceedings.
[832] When the great moment arrived, the sun pole could barely be raised; most
[535] of the men preferred to dance the Owl Dance, that aid to flirtation and liai-
[575] son. But the conspicuous display at the transfer of Horn Society member-
ships two days earlier had drawn a large and expectant company.

Bundles[171]

575 The costs, limited memberships available, and unappealing demands of
424 such a society as the Crazy Dogs were clearly deterrents to participation,
184 but nevertheless an impressive proportion of the adult male population
bought into the cheaper (younger) organizations, and for special reasons
422 into the Horns. The ownership of medicine pipes and beaver bundles is
778 much more restricted. Only thirty, or less than one-tenth of the group
184 sampled, bought pipes at all:

25 bought 1 pipe
1 bought 2 pipes
2 bought 3 pipes
2 bought 4 pipes

Only six have bought beaver bundles:[172]

3 bought 1 bundle
3 bought 2 bundles

Of the first group, one had also purchased a medicine pipe; of the second, one had purchased four.

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[170] It is possible to vow the Sun Lodge without buying the *natoas* bundle. Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, pp. 241, 246.

[171] Many other types than those discussed here were in circulation. For full descriptions, see Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, passim.

[172] Wissler (*Blackfoot Bundles*, p. 169), writes in 1912: "At present beaver bundles are to be found among the divisions except the Blood, among whom they have not been particularly popular for a long time."

432 on the sacred walk."[193] Returning, she gives the sinister root which she has
778 received from her nocturnal partner to her uneasy husband.

786 The interval of waiting is among the greatest trials of the Blood. The
515 anxious husband must show no jealousy during the "walk"; he must joke
with his fellow members and suffer their teasing without taking offense. So
754 great is this strain that some are unable to bring themselves to the test;
837 others hire a substitute wife, although the added cost may be considerable.

754 The Blood are not overly engrossed with sorcery, perhaps because black
181 magic may act as a boomerang, perhaps because hostility is quickly and
154 overtly expressed, perhaps because their way of life brought numerous and
[837] tangible rewards. But some standard of values is suggested by the fact that the greatest power to hurt others is acquired by submitting to what they believe entails the greatest personal suffering—the possession of one's wife by another. Its institutionalization in the Horn Society in no way relaxes the sexual tensions among the people at large; it merely succeeds in heightening them for the few who want to purchase the most feared power available to the Blood.

831 Writing on the relations between Blackfoot men and women, Wissler
171 observes, "We found no traces of the conventional modes of registering
554 conquests as among the young men of the Dakota and Village Indians."[194]
154 Victims of a monotonous poverty, these more easterly tribesmen readily transferred a symbol from their glamorous past to the one remaining area of competition, sex. The counting of coups over amorous successes may well have seemed unnecessary, and even ridiculous, to the more exuberant Blood whose daily routines gave them many other ego satisfactions.

593 Marital Instability.—Psychopathic possessiveness and aggressive
837 behavior, however, offer a poor foundation for a satisfactory or enduring
581 marriage. In 1909, a worried agent, after discussing the difficulties arising from drink, observed, "The morality question is at present a more serious one on this reservation, the transgressors very principally young married people who, after quarrelling separate and insist upon availing themselves of the old tribal right to take other partners."[195] The instability of early marriage can be easily documented. A Dancing Bird, beautiful if undiscriminating, consoled ten "husbands"; a wilful Mary Red Bear boasted

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[171] combed their hair, and gave them a gift. . .no sexual license is permitted during this occasion."

[837] The attitudes and values of the two tribes are nicely revealed in the following incident from a tale: A Blackfoot visiting a Cree makes him a present of a horse. In return, the Cree offers him his wife.

[193] Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 413 ff. Also Harry D. Biele, Field Notes.

[194] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 9.

[195] 1909, Vol. 43, No. 15, p. 169.

"The Blackfoot are very fond of their children," wrote Maximilian in 855
1832;[197] and it would be utterly misleading if today we minimized the 593
passionate warmth that most Blood lavish upon their children, particu- [178]
larly upon their younger offspring and their favorites. But where families
are easily broken, where abandonment is not unusual, and where a child
on his own initiative frequently seeks a parent substitute, the parent-child
relationship necessarily lacks the intensity that distinguishes it in our
culture. The trauma of separation is reduced as well as the child's resent-
ment against the parent who has acted without much consideration for his
well-being. Not that the hurt is forgotten nor even entirely forgiven, but [591]
a Julia Curtis will eagerly recount a visit to a mother who left her at nine
to the ministrations of a paternal aunt and married a man on another
reserve; a Ned Sloane will speak lovingly of the grandmother who urged
that he be "thrown away" because he had caused his mother's death in
childbirth; a Myrtle Pointed Plume will show no animosity toward her
adopted father (actually her grandfather) although he insisted after she
had spent eleven years as a *minipoka* in his household, that she remain
with her own parents when he took another wife.

Early in childhood preference patterns are established and these function 602
quickly in time of small strain or great crisis. One mother said that her 855
eldest son always went to the home of his father's mother's sister when
trouble was brewing; she herself spent much of her girlhood both before [182]
and after her mother abandoned her father, at her father's sister's. Another,
speaking of her various children, said, "Myrtle is her grandfather Pointed
Plume's favorite; Fanny is her grandfather William's favorite; Rosalie is
her grandmother Julia's favorite; Harold is his father's favorite and Otis is
mine." Only one, the eldest, was a true *minipoka* (she had been adopted by [858]
her paternal grandfather so he could more easily honor her and, what was
equally important, continue to enhance his own prestige); but each of the [597]
others felt secure in his own brand of favoritism even if it was less ostenta- [554]
tiously expressed.

Despite their informal status, these lesser favorites expected the same privileged treatment from their warm supporters that true favorites received from theirs, and within reason they were not disappointed. When Julia's Rosalie, a child of seven, spilled water and came weeping to her grandmother because she was afraid her sister Myrtle *might* tell on her (which incidentally she showed no disposition to do), the grandmother's only comment as she took the little girl upon her knee was, "Myrtle is so spoiled."

Boys may find a haven with an older sister, but a young girl would hesi- [593]

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[197] Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 252.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

At school a child is cut off from his home. At home, because of the distances 571
between homesteads, he is cut off from the easy companionship of 156
his age-grade, a companionship that developed naturally in the play camps 155
of an earlier day and remained a continuing force for stability in the community.
But even more disconcertingly, he is frequently cut off from those
favored relatives from whom he expects unquestioning affection and
support, while at the same time he is more intensely exposed to familial dissension.
In time of trouble he still escapes, but often the only comfort possible [154]
is "going outside" and fighting it out alone, a convenient though perhaps
not entirely satisfactory preparation for manhood.

Escape, in this violent society, is a necessary mechanism to relieve tension; 571
but it is also a simple way to avoid responsibility. When Pansy Curtis 154
cut her brother's neck while trimming his hair, she bound it with a towel
and ran off to the house of her father's aunt without telling anyone; when
she put all her aunt's fresh meat through the chopper instead of hanging it
up to dry, she left her small cousin to bear the blame and hastened off to
her father in the fields. When Charlie Bruce hacked off his sister's thumb,
he stuck it on with axle grease and ran away before his grandmother returned;
when he finished slaughtering a new-born calf before his admiring
playmates, he left them to confess the crime and hurried to a forgiving aunt.

Patterns of escape established in childhood are repeated in adult life. Most situations are met by avoiding blame, shifting it, running away. The man who murdered his wife in 1939, immediately left his house to visit a neighbor. There he exhibited his gashed hand and said, "I got this while I was taking the butcher knife from my wife. She tried to kill me." But he failed to mention that she was lying mutilated and unconscious on the kitchen floor. The boy who was jailed for intoxication claimed that the bottle was not his and that he had not drunk a drop. When domestic conflict arises, either wife or husband leaves, sometimes temporarily, sometimes forever. Relatives and reserve may intervene, but "to go on a trip" is still the most favored solution in case of difficulty.

Siblings

The basic competitiveness of the society is frequently expressed in the 593
sibling relationships. The institutionalization of the favorite inevitably 858
creates an overtly rivalrous situation. Among the Teton Dakota, who call
their privileged ones "child-beloveds," this situation for a variety of reasons [171]
is muted,[199] but among the Blood, the exploitation of the "child of plenty" [554]
for purposes of prestige has been completely uninhibited.

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[199] Goldfrank, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

war deeds and political authority being equal, would ordinarily not join 561
a war expedition led by one who was his junior. Among war chiefs who had [701]
already made their major coups, seniority was as important a factor in [554] ●
prestige as the number of major coups.

Unlike the Pawnee and the Comanche one's prestige did not decline after [555]
the last war deed. War was understood as a means for acquiring wealth,
and if one were already wealthy, status could be maintained in certain 556
spheres without war deeds. Once one had built an adequate herd of horses. 721
there was no humiliation for those who preferred to remain in camp. More- 554
over, after renouncing warfare, one might gain further prestige. Ceremonial [778]
life was another form of competition with property as one of the stakes; a [425]
man surpassed another by paying more for an article of ceremonial im-
portance or by acquiring more sacred articles. The tribal chiefs themselves [621]
were usually older men who had already distinguished themselves as war- [622]
riors. Having given up the war path, they settled with their large herds of
horses to help their relatives and thus established their positions as leaders
in civil life. In this status of leader a man with less wealth and fewer coups
might surpass a man with a finer war record who had greater wealth but less
generosity. Above all, the mere fact of having grown old was regarded with 888
respect, for one must have power in order to grow old. Hence, it was any 561
dignified old man who with his liaisons to supernatural powers said prayers [782]
for the departing warriors. In fact, they prayed that the young man who
offered them a pipe would have a long life and many children. [889]

The general structure of the age societies exemplifies this pattern still 575
further. The societies such as the Bees and the Prairie Chickens were 561
entered by many young men, required little outlay of wealth for member-
ship and served mainly for display, recreation, and solidifying the bonds [556]
between comrades. Those high in the hierarchy of age societies such as the
members of the Catchers and the Horn societies were necessarily older men
of sufficient wealth to pay a relatively high price for admission. Hence the
group of members was not large. In addition these societies were entrusted [692]
with legal authority, based in part on the supernatural power which mem-
bership gave them. We thus see again the tendency to associate with age
both authority and supernatural power. Though the Crazy Dogs, lying [761]
about midway in the hierarchy of age societies, might sing the old Plains
song, "We do not want to become old," this was sung perhaps more in [533]
derision of their "enemy society" than as an expression of the desire to die
young.

Within the residence group any remarks on authority must be prefaced 592
by the observation that the smaller units were in the final analysis auton- 596
omous. Each household unit was free to move any place it desired at the
will of the man who was head. Among the households that coalesced into

592 an extended family, the eldest male was in authority, though any of the
596 constituent households might terminate this authority by camping elsewhere.
[621] Similarly the senior member of an extended family could curtail
the authority of the band chief by withdrawing with his kinsmen to another
band or by forming an independent band, were the group sufficiently large.
[571] All groupings larger than the individual household presupposed that the
military and economic benefits of membership outweighed the disadvantages
of submission to authority.

596 Assuming stable conditions, authority in the extended family lay with the
561 senior male. At his death the next oldest was presumptive head of the family.
[603] As a group there was little contact between the young and those of
grandparent status, though an individual might warm to one or more of his
[626] grandchildren and favor him in various ways. A child who spent considerable
time with old people received the mildly derogatory term of *kɪpitá'puka*
("old-woman-child") because of imitating unconsciously the mannerisms
of old people and hence acting beyond its age. Although an exception to the
rule correlating age with authority may appear in the individual household,
[988] even here the elder might be active in an advisory capacity. Only under
extreme circumstances were old people allowed to die as outcasts. When
transportation was difficult or food running short, then with regret, often
[886] at their own request, the old were left behind on the march. To be sure, the
rule of senior authority was modified when it was realized that senility had
appeared. Then the next in age tactfully assumed the major administrative
role in the extended family or the band, if it had not already been relinquished.

556 The age-authority hierarchy was further reinforced by economic considerations.
431 It was the pattern to associate prestige with generosity. Those who
561 gave generously increased their own prestige, providing that they did not
593 bankrupt themselves thereby. Within the extended family it was the
practice to encourage siblings to give to their juniors. This was not only an
554 expression of endearment or of aiding a weaker person, as it was often
phrased. It also had the effect of putting juniors in the debt of seniors. To
be sure these debts were not the same within the family as outside the
family between unrelated persons, for repayment between relatives was
[684] not categorical. Yet we have such instances as a young man raiding for
horses to repay his father. The father had given horses in settlement to
a husband whose wife had had an affair with the son. In other cases where
an older brother had made his son a favored child, the younger brother gave
abundantly to this favored child, "to repay the older brother for his kindness
to him in his youth." We have also noted that young men returning
from war always gave some portion of their booty to older brothers. The
practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long
as the younger."

For the male, we observe a break between his relatively irresponsible life 593
as a bachelor and his responsible position as head of a household. Furthermore, 592
to many marriage tacitly meant giving up the warpath. Thus, war
activities would be limited to economically unproductive forays which beat 581
off enemy raids on the camp. To marry implied that one had sufficient
horses and in a sense jeopardized one's future, for were these animals lost
through an enemy raid, the owner was less free to go again on the warpath.
The responsibility for the household was too great readily to be entrusted to
another.

For the female there was also a break between the rôle of a daughter in 581
the household of her parents and the rôle of wife in the tipi of her husband. 593
This dichotomy was framed by the mother-in-law tabu, which necessitated [606]
her living either as wife or daughter but never both. Leaving the warm,
affectionate, accepting relationship of a daughter to her mother she entered
the strange tipi of her husband. Frequently this change was made at an early
age to accustom her more quickly to the transition, but the change was,
nevertheless, a traumatic one followed by frequent attempts to escape.
Father and elder brothers were rigorous in policing the marriage contract
and adopted measures to enforce it comparable to the breaking of a colt.

As a result of this negative attitude toward marriage on the part of both 601
partners definite rewards had to be offered. A key to this is furnished by the 607
kinship system. The male received enhanced status. By the brothers of his
wife he was called *nustamo′* while he replied to them with *nustamox′kua*. The [554]
suffix *xkua*, also found in the word *nuxku′a* ("my son") implies depressing a
person a generation in the sense of calling a person "child." Moreover, all
children of the wife's brothers were "grandchildren" so that they honored
him as "grandparent." In practice the relationship of husband to wife's 561
brother did not always follow this pattern, for the concept of seniority dominated 602
the kinship regulations. A brother of the wife older than her husband 607
actually held the rein of authority, but it was a warm relationship between
the two males which more nearly paralleled that of siblings. Frequently the
sister and her husband camped near an older brother, where the husband
helped with the horses and hunting. In turn when the husband became self-sufficient,
a wife's younger brother might move to help him in maintaining
his household. Thus a man increased the number of his siblings through
marriage and hence his personal security.

For the woman there were also prestige rewards. By entering the tipi of 601
her husband, she, too, received nominal enhancement of status. This was 607
achieved by depressing a generation the husband's younger siblings, who [554]
became her "sons" and "daughters." In turn their children called her
"grandmother." Though she had to pay respect to her husband's elders, the 607
wives of these older brothers, and perhaps her husband's sisters, helped her 585

with seniority as the greater weight. However, regardless of seniority the 601
wife's brother had the right to call home his sister in case of her being mistreated, 607
and if this occurred soon after the initial marriage contract, return
of the wedding gifts might be demanded. This prerogative was, of course, [586]
balanced by the more frequently exercised right of a husband to send his
wife away in case of her failure to meet his demands. Normally, sex rather
than family lines constituted the major cleavage, so that the two men
cooperated to keep the woman faithful.

Similarly son and son-in-law were neatly balanced. The son, as we shall 601
see presently, was the most important offspring yet little more important 606
than the son-in-law. The rationale of the mother-in-law tabu, as stated by
most women, hinges on the emotion of respect. Weight is given this phrasing [593]
in behavior, for the greater the prestige of the son-in-law, the greater the [554]
number of female in-laws who observed avoidance norms. The respect was [431]
also accompanied by periodic gifts exchanged between the son-in-law and
parents-in-law. The supremacy of the son in the eyes of his parents may be [593]
seen by the following incident where a woman was dying. On her deathbed
she summoned her son-in-law who entered the room with eyes lowered so as
not to look in her face. After hearing the last words directed to other relatives,
the son-in-law was addressed through his wife; the old woman said:
"Be kind to your husband; treat him well after I am gone. I love you very
much, but I love him better. I love him like a son."

Lineage was traced through the mother's line as well as through the 601
father's. Incest was reckoned if any relationship between the two prospective [582]
spouses could be discovered. There was, however, little memory beyond
three generations, when the line diffused into vagueness. With names a [835]
slight patrilineality showed itself in the desire to make a great name "live in
every generation." Thus we find sons and grandsons of famous people still 601
bearing such names as Crowfoot, Eagle Ribs, Old Sun and Many Swans. It 551
would be unusual for a son-in-law to take a family name of this type, but if [553]
he did, it was deemed a great honor to the family, for which he would be
given a good horse. More likely he would feel obliged to keep alive the important
names of his own family. There were also great female names [562]
passed down in the line from mother to daughter, but their importance was
overshadowed by the male names.

Inheritance of property was also multilateral. A list of recipients in order 428
of their priority might run like this: older brother, younger brother, son, 421
wife's brother, daughter's husband. Nominally, females might receive property
and dispose of it, though in practice the husband of the woman received 562
it and acted as agent. Horses, which made up the body of the legacy since [429]
household furnishings were parts of the mortuary tipi, were not ordinarily
given to lone women, as they had no means for caring for them. The male 000

a man reside in his wife's father's camp or his own father's camp, but he 591
might follow a sibling who lived in the camp of this sibling's in-laws or this
sibling's brother-in-law's camp which might be located elsewhere. We have
cases of poor men "without any relatives" moving into the camp of a chief
and being welcomed despite the absence of blood ties. There was considerable
freedom of movement on this basis, and the man usually camped where
he was furnished with the greatest economic advantages.

Consideration on the basis of terminology alone suggests a patrilineal 601
weighting. A male derived no prestige from the line of females beginning 602
with his sister who called him "older brother." We might regard these females
as being sent to another line of males where they would honor all
whom they called "grandparent." In keeping with this emphasis was the
early marriage of daughters who thus went to live with their husbands
before strong personal attachments were formed with their brothers. Substantiating
this was the remoteness of a man's children to his sister. Also,
as we have seen, honor was accorded the son-in-law by the daughter's 601
parents rather than the daughter. Weighing against such a lineal emphasis, 581
was the important relationship of son-in-law to son and to the parents themselves
which firmly united the group. Furthermore, the phrasing of wedlock 593
was that a wife "brought the husband children." In these words Blackfoot [562]
underscored cooperation between husband and wife rather than the alternative
possibility that the rôle of a wife was solely bearing children for him.
The children were his only for the duration of the marriage contract, since [586]
they normally followed the mother to her new residence after separation.
Terminologically the cooperation of man and woman to produce children [601]
may be also seen in the fact that a man calls the children of his wife's sister,
even though married to another man, "son" and "daughter."

Perhaps a stronger argument for patrilineality was the dramatization by 593
a son of his relationship to his father. In addition to the important position 554
of the father in designating kinsmen, this showed itself in four principal 601
ways. First, we have observed among our informants an eagerness to relate
the tales of their father's prowess, a tendency to glorify him as a man great
in battle, wealth and generosity. Where one informant's father had disgraced [558]
himself by presuming to be a chief when he had no claim to this
authority, the informant seized upon his paternal grandfather as a proper
alternative to glorify. Another indication of this dramatization is the frequent 593
statement of an informant that he was a favored child. Most of our 858
informants recognised the disadvantage of being favored children since the 554
pampering accorded such a child usually misfitted him for a self-sufficient
life after the father's death when many of the favored children went bankrupt.
Nevertheless, informants persisted in stating that they were favored
children. The desirability of being a favored child was, first, that one's own

593 status was thereby elevated because of having received some sacred objects,
858 and, second, it was an oblique way of stating that one's father was wealthy,
●554 hence a hard worker and a man of accomplishment. Further evidence for
paternal glorification may be seen in the almost monomanic anxiety over
597 being an adopted child. Any rebuff that a son might be given was frequently
593 the stimulus for morbid preoccupation over the reality of the blood relationship
[152] to the person he called father. In adopting a child, parents took elaborate
precautions to show even greater affection toward the adopted child
than toward their own in order to prevent this child from suspecting his
adoption. When a child or grown person discovered this fact, it was a traumatic
593 experience from which recovery was slow and difficult. Further indication
626 of the importance of the paternal rôle in the life of a male was the
universal comment made when a man deviated from acceptable behavior.
[867] People said, "He did not listen to his father's words." This had direct reference
to the series of moral lectures that every father was supposed to make
593 to his children. Another aspect was the concept of inheritance of personality
827 characteristics from the father. This was particularly true of males who were
supposed to inherit their father's courage in battle, memory for ritual,
generosity, or eccentricities. Females were thought to inherit more from
their mothers. On one occasion the question arose in a discussion with an
informant as to why certain individuals did not listen to the moral lectures
of their fathers. Our informant on this occasion stated that it was because
they had inherited this particular deafness to the paternal sermons from
their fathers who in turn had also not heeded the dicta of their fathers.

584 Certain prerogatives accorded the woman's family served to heighten the
importance of the mother's family. Foremost among these was the privilege
of the woman's parents to assume the initiative in soliciting marriage for
[581] their daughter. Indeed, it was frequent that a wealthy man picked a son-in-law
who was poor but energetic with the aim of receiving his assistance in
[858] the camp. We have statements to the effect that on this account daughters
were somewhat preferred to sons in that through them the circle of one's
585 followers and helpers could be more readily enlarged. Of conceivable symbolic
[591] importance was the fact that the woman's parents usually provided the
first tipi with its furnishings for the new son-in-law, for this suggests that in
586 the remote past the son-in-law was actually living matrilocally. Furthermore,
a woman usually returned to the camp of her parents or brothers with
her unmarried children after the dissolution of a marriage. The husband
736 thereby lost whatever influence he may have had over the children. In the
[888] case of a woman whose husband died when she was too old for ready remarriage,
her sons, by then economically self-sufficient, were expected to care
for her, and they would accord her the authority due an elderly person in
making important decisions.

case, as where there was more than one wife, was a woman sent away, for 593
above all the preservation of the household was primary. 571

Of course, unfaithfulness reflected unfavorably also on the reputation of 837
the woman's family. Thus, a wife's male relative in cases where the woman 684
was at fault cooperated in the attempts at education and sanctioned this
severe treatment. In fact, this constituted a bond of interest between a wife's [554]
relatives and her husband. During the actual fracas between husband, wife [606]
and co-respondent, the person expected to restore equilibrium was the elder
brother or father of the co-respondent. He, seeking to reduce the tension
between the families, would send horses to the aggrieved husband. No rebuke
would be given a son who was co-respondent not only because the
woman was theoretically responsible, but, as one informant expressed it,
"because the father would think back to the days when he was young and
understand how his boy felt."

Generally the strength of the conjugal family varies inversely with the 593
strength of the blood bonds. Curiously, however, Plains individualism to 571
the point of anarchy served to maintain the strength of both. When the
irritations of the authority of one's elders became too great, one might [182]
establish his own tipi if economically possible. But the instability of the [154]
marriage bond often sent one back to renew the relationship with people
of one's own blood. At one end the security of a man of accomplishment
was in his own tipi of wives and children; at the other extreme, with complete
failure of all endeavors, security could be found in the group of his
own blood as refuge.

Current Changes in Kinship

With the settling of the Blackfoot on a reservation, three main changes 657
have occurred. The old economy disappeared, and in its place agriculture 178
and herding under white management have been substituted. With this
change the nomadic mode of life has been replaced by a semi-sedentary life
within the limits of an Indian reserve. The band as the social unit for defensive [621]
war, residence and hunting, has disintegrated into its component units, [596]
the extended families. Whites have moved into southern Alberta, where
they have engulfed the reserve. Though the Blackfoot, because of their [177]
status as treaty Indians, live separately from the Whites, the latter influence
Blackfoot institutions.

In what ways has the kinship terminology been influenced by these 561
changes? The majority of such changes can be subsumed under an extension 601
of the principle of age-grading with reference to ego and ego's father. While
formerly all the women of father's family were termed "grandparent," 177
today father's younger sister becomes ego's "older sister," or "younger sib- 178

561 ling." Even in mother's family age-grading shows its effects: Mother's
601 mother's brother is often called "grandparent" today. His age difference
177 with reference to ego makes the former term of address seem inappropriate.
The women of mother's family tend to be addressed in terms appropriate to
178 their age, so that the mother's older sister may occasionally be termed
"grandparent" rather than mother, if she seems to be considerably older
than ego. In the corresponding generations below ego the term "younger
sibling" is rather loosely applied on the basis of age. Thus a younger brother
and his son may both be called "younger sibling" when the difference in age
is not very great. If the age difference is greater, the son of a younger sibling
would be called "grandson." Similarly for a male speaker, the children
through the female line of sister tend to be called "grandchildren" as soon as
the age difference becomes great enough. This is now preferred to addressing
them as "younger sibling." In keeping with this change is the disappearance
of the term "grandparent" as applied to the female paternal cross-cousin.

571 This change reflects a social trend on the reservation toward gerontocracy.
657 There exists a definite nostalgia for the buffalo days when the Blackfoot
888 were not a dependent minority. Those who actually experienced hunting
and the warpath thereby acquire prestige. In turn those nearer in age to
[554] the glorious past share a diminishing portion of this glory. The sons of renowned
warriors take pride in knowing in detail the exploits of their fathers.
Through the mere change from a nomadic to a sedentary life the authority
of the old has also been enhanced. Formerly, limitation of authority was
achieved by the universal right of a man to move to the jurisdiction of some
other less irritating authority. Though the right is still recognized to-day,
freedom of movement from the effects of this authority is more difficult on a
reserve. In the recent past a man deserted his wife and children to live with
[762] another woman. Bound to the reserve, he faced daily social censure for his
acts until he terminated his marginal position by suicide. Moreover, the
freedom of action under an authority is smaller, if only because the authority
[621] is closer to its object. The band made up of various related kinsmen or
[596] clusters of kinsmen has dissolved into extended families. With this change
many of the economic and political functions of the band chiefs have
[182] devolved upon the head of the extended family, a smaller and more intimate
[622] group than the band. Hence, evasion of responsibility is less likely today.
[428] In addition certain factors have increased the force of this authority, primarily
[177] the increased importance of inheritance. Having adopted white techniques
of living and white means of production, with all that house, furnishings,
and farm implements imply, the number of objects to be transmitted
at death has increased. Indeed, the value of these objects has also increased
in view of the ritual required to obtain them in the white economy. Thus,
through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old
have increased their power.

652 Consequently few of the long-range programs were started, per capita payments were made, and in most cases, the money was spent for immediate needs.

Summary

433
177 The emphasis, in this chapter, has been upon the economic problems of Blackfeet readaptation following the depletion of the buffalo. The pressures put upon the people, both directly and indirectly, to change other parts of their culture can be summarized now and related to the problem of the maintenance or replacement of the traditional value and prestige systems.

The end of the hunting economy made hunting skills obsolete. Migratory seasonal dwelling patterns lost their function. Dependency undermined band and tribal leadership. Warfare and horse raiding were
[556] stopped. A man no longer was able to exhibit bravery in the hunt, in war, or on the raid. He no longer could use these means to acquire property with which to display generosity.

Other cultural characteristics were seen to have been under strong pressure. Indian beliefs, religion, ritual, curing practices and some aspects of social life had been discouraged or outlawed for
● [554] many years. The acceptance of hospitalization and modern medicine closed Indian curing as a channel to prestige. The conversion of many people to Christianity, and the suppression of religious expression
[554] and ritual, undermined these beliefs and practices. The religious avenues to status were slowly blocked.

Many people remained committed to the old values but were hard pressed to make economic adaptation and at the same time express the

177 communities--Warm Springs, Yakima, Umatilla, Crow, Gros Ventre,
184 Cheyenne, Assiniboine, Mandan, Flathead and Cree, among others.
541 Sleeping and cooking tents are erected behind the tepee circle and
[574] upwards of seven hundred people will be living on the grounds during
the encampment. Each family camping on the grounds is paid a cash
allowance toward their maintenance and shares in a daily meat or food
ration.

The formal program opens with a parade through the main street
of Browning and out to the encampment grounds near the Museum of the
[535] Plains Indian, one-half mile west of town. A regular program of Indian
[533] dancing to the accompaniment of singing and drumming by local and
visiting singing groups is scheduled each afternoon, and occasionally
continues during the evening if the weather permits.

The dancing sessions are interrupted frequently by both planned
and unplanned intermission activities--special dance contests, games,
[431] and "give-aways." Some of the last mentioned gift giving ceremonies
are sponsored by the Indian Days Committee to honor and give gifts
[553] to invited guests from other tribes. Others are put on by individuals
[556] and families who wish, and are expected, to give gifts in remembrance
[554] of a deceased relative, to give a new and significant Indian name to a
child in a public naming ceremony, or to honor some other person by a
[533] display of generosity in his name. At the 1959 celebration two Chiefs
had the singers sing their respective power songs and then gave gifts
to friends and visitors.

[648] Another almost regularly occurring part of the program is a
ceremony in which distinguished visitors are adopted into the Blackfeet

184 use, and care for more home furnishings and appliances.[190] A middle
177 class American would recognize an attempt to make the house "homelike"—
565 a quality that is seldom achieved in the same way by the Indian-oriented
[511] regardless of financial condition. This elusive and hard to define
[353] impression may become clearer by contrast with Indian-oriented homes
described later.

[554] The white-oriented tend to identify home and possessions with
[829] family status. One white community leader, acquainted with sociological
literature, assessed the class positions of the town, and used home
improvement as a key to attempted upward mobility. Even Indian-oriented
[626] people are aware of this quality of white living. An Indian who
acquires too many appliances and other home furnishings is accused of
"trying to live like a white man."

White-Oriented High Status

Highest status among the white-oriented persons is held by a few men or families who own large farms or ranches, or operate successful businesses. In most respects they resemble the middle status people in that they are industrious, ambitious, acquisitive, and active in community

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[354] [190] Some of this is reflected in the socioeconomic data. Twelve
of the middle status white-oriented persons used gas, oil, or electric
ranges, while only one of the three lower status, and none of the Indian-
[207] oriented subjects had other than wood ranges. Radios were widely owned,
but a check shows that of those who reported no radios owned, six were
Indian-oriented and one was white-oriented lower status. Television sets
were owned by no Indian-oriented, one of three lower status white-oriented,
eleven of fourteen middle status white-oriented, and all three upper
status white-oriented families. These figures do not reflect properly
the range of the Indian-oriented for reasons that will be shown later.

177 being Indian. Toward this end they share elements of culture that
184 differ from that of the surrounding population and associate most
565 frequently with people of like orientation. The group has its own
[186] measures of status based upon expressions of the values supported by
[554] its members, and because of differing goals and values, the status
system of the Indian-oriented is incongruent with that of the white-
oriented society. The Indian judges his group, and the whole tribal
population by another standard that results in a dissimilar ranking.

For present purposes the same threefold classification of
status--low, middle, and high--is used, but because the Indian system
has some peculiarities the positions are discussed in another order.
[554] In Indian-oriented society, high status is achieved by the attainment
of prestige and influence through behavior that expresses the values
of the group. This is the same general principle that operates among
the white-oriented society, but the bicultural situation, in which
the Indian-oriented are an economically and politically dependent
minority, has led to a bifurcation of ranks among the higher status
classes. Low status people are relatively homogeneous, middle status
less so, and the high status category can be split into two types
[129] based upon differences of individual acculturation. Because of this
the high status classes are described first, then the low status,
followed by a brief description of the large middle class that, by its
judgements and support, makes or breaks status claims. The discussion
of the characteristics that make for the achievement of high status will
describe best the ideals of the society against which the lower rankings
are also measured.

High Status[193]

177 The joint requirements of maintaining Indian identity and
184 achieving this within the political and economic framework of white
565 culture have opened two channels to prestige and leadership within
554 the Indian-oriented group. The ideal leader in this situation would
be a man wise in the ways of both traditional Blackfeet and modern
American cultures. He would be an authority on how best to be an
Indian, yet well educated, skilled, and able to meet the white man on
common ground. He would be experienced sufficiently to gain acceptance
and influence in white society and to act as an able interpreter of
each group to the other. The history of Blackfeet and American
relations is too short to have produced such an ideal in one man.
177 Instead, as more and more tribal members become white-oriented, some
184 men gain high status by their greater knowledge of Blackfeet culture,
565 as it is known today. These leaders form a least acculturated high
554 status stratum that, for the sake of simplicity, will be called the
571 Chiefs. Others, better educated and more experienced with white culture,
find high status by playing the roles of intercultural interpreters and
mediators. They are accomplished spokesmen for the Indian-oriented
point of view, and as a more acculturated high status class are labeled
Interpreters. There are more than generational differences between
these two status types.

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[124] [193] No high status Indian-oriented persons were included in the
probability sample, but the investigator was acquainted with several
[115] such people, observed and informally interviewed them. The small number
of such people make their inclusion in a small random sample unlikely.
However, the names of three such men were included in the first two
hundred names drawn, but were not of the first fifty selected for interview.

177 Chiefs[194] are usually older men who know and support the
184 currently known traditions and beliefs. They vary in their knowledge,
565 belief and dedication, but all, together, form a repository of what is
● 554 remembered of the old ways. One of these men recognized that much of
[186] the old culture had been lost, "things beyond the memory of even the
old timers," but he and others of his status are "trying to show the young people the things from the past," with special emphasis on keeping the language alive.

Through their age, knowledge, and practice of Blackfeet ideals, these men have gained the respect of a numerous following of kinsmen, friends and people from a particular region who recognize him as their Chief, or respected elder. So these men are given respect and loyalty but little political power. It appears that the old leadership structure persists among the Indian-oriented group. People tend to shift their loyalties according to kinship, friendship, and self-interest. The leadership that develops carries responsibilities and influence, but rarely true authority. The Chiefs are recognized as links to the past, authorities on tradition, and symbols of the Indian but, as the roles given them will show, these things are peripheral to the present political and economic sphere.

Chiefs perform a variety of public duties that center around
[292] their position as authorities on tradition. Such men serve on the

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[194] It is estimated that this category includes twelve or fifteen men (and possibly two or three women attain the ideal if not the title). It is a reasonable prediction that socioeconomic data about them would place these people in the top rank of Indian-orientation and in a relatively low position on the non-Indian scale.
[291] Most of these people wear some article of clothing or ornamentation--moccasins, tall-crowned hats, feather fans or charms--that symbolize
[293] an Indian.

177 Indian Days committee where they try to insure that the ceremonies
184 are properly Indian; they help in planning the program and in the
565 regulation of the camp; they don ceremonial regalia, usually a beaded
● 554 white deerskin suit and a Plains Indian headdress, to take part in the
[292] dancing and exhibitions that make up the program.

[796] If a Sun Dance is held, it can be sponsored only by people of this class, the principle roles will be filled by the Chiefs and their families; they know the songs, dances and the ritual necessary for the performance of a ceremony that follows tradition as closely as their knowledge and modern conditions will allow.

Such Chiefs are called upon to greet distinguished visitors and to officiate in adoption ceremonies in which visiting dignitaries are given an Indian name and taken into the Blackfeet tribe. If any family wishes to hold a give-away, a Chief is called upon to be the crier, the one who announces the import of the ceremony, leads in chanting the proper songs, and calls out the names of those honored with a gift.

[778] Several of these men own medicine bundles that they open on
the proper occasions, and they help conduct the ceremonies at the bundle
[755] openings of other people. A few know curing practices and rituals and
conduct curing ceremonies even though they and their patients also
go to white doctors.

[643] Some of the Chiefs serve on the Honorary Tribal Council and
[664] receive a small per diem for attendance at Council meetings. Members
of this Honorary Council are chosen frequently to accompany delegations
to the state and national capitols to lobby for or against proposed

177 legislation that might affect the Tribe. On these trips these men
184 dress in their regalia and pose for pictures with government officials.
565 They are symbols of the American Indian seeking redress of ancient
554 wrongs.
[664]

Both in the council and on such trips, the Chiefs see themselves as spokesmen for the full-bloods and take every occasion to speak out, usually in Blackfeet, urging harmony and trust, and requesting more help for "the People"--the full-bloods.

177 Few people, even among their followers, accept this political
184 role of the Chiefs. The persons in the audience talk, move about and
565 impatiently pass the time until the Honorary Councilmen have had their
554 say. On one occasion, the Chairman asked the translator to "tell him
643 to make it short." The people, in general, take pride in their old
[888] timers, but want them to exercise their influence outside of Council.
[191] They are handicapped, too, as political leaders because they speak little English and so fail to communicate directly with many of the people they seek to influence. They wish to arrive at decisions by the traditional council method that requires lengthy discussion and unanimity. The dominant culture and society within which they must act, the white and white-oriented leaders that must be influenced, do not allow time for this method of resolving issues. The men are extended the courtesy of free speech, but this does not include giving much attention to what they say.

177 These men have attained this status by the routes of wisdom,
184 skill and generosity. Wisdom and skill have developed through their
565 experience. Their fathers, as youths, saw the last of the buffalo days
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and told their sons about that life, so their tie with the past is real. The Chiefs have lived through three-quarters of a century of the changes described in Chapter V, so the wisdom they profess has a basis in experience with the white man. They were active participants in the trials of change, having tried many of the programs for economic readaptation with varying degrees of success. In the course of these economic ups and downs, these men accepted some change, but also tried to maintain the traditions as they knew them. Their ability to do this has made them both the advisers and symbols they now are for numbers of people.

[571]
[431]
[556]
The high status position of these men is fairly stable, but still depends on the numbers and support of their followers. Their claims to status must be validated by continued service and acts of generosity. They are not wealthy, but they have shared what they had in better times and perform services presently that validate their positions.

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The Chiefs do not present a united front, and are still rivals for additional prestige. They criticize one another and are gossiped about by other people. One old man will dismiss the tales of another as "lies." "He doesn't know anything. The truth is . . . ." Another will be criticized for telling war stories. "He once put a story in the paper about how he scalped a Crow Indian . People laugh at him. He shouldn't tell those stories, they don't belong to him. My daddy told me not to tell these war stories, they're the property of the people who did the things."

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The Chiefs, then, are honored for their ability to symbolize and to advise about and maintain these traditions. The knowledge and

177 experience that has gained them this status, however, cannot be
184 translated into effective, practical political and economic leadership,
565 so that another type of Indian-oriented leader must fill this gap.
●554
[191] Interpreters[195] form a more acculturated high status class made
up of relatively younger men who are better educated, were raised in
Indian-oriented homes, speak both languages fluently, and have assumed,
or gained, leadership roles in the community. They express the ambition
to "make a life by combining what is best of the Indian way with the
best of the white way." They are capable of fitting into a role made
necessary by the reservation complex wherein two contrasting societies
attempt to function under a common political system. They can talk to
[186] and better understand both sides. At the same time, these leaders are
Indian-oriented. They want to be accepted by the Indian society and
want to maintain Indian identity, but both the bicultural milieu and
their personal qualities lead to an understanding and participation
that differs from that of the Chiefs.

The Interpreters know much of the old religion and lore. Quite often their fathers had been of the Chief class and these men had been

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[195] This class includes approximately fifteen men (and possibly three women) who range from thirty to seventy years of age. The younger ones best represent the present state of the bifurcation process. Each generation of acculturated Indian-oriented leaders has had greater opportunity for a better education and for more experience with white ways. This increasing individual acculturation widens the gap between these men and the least acculturated, but makes them more competent in transactions with the dominant society. If the sample had included men of this class, they would have measured high on both scales of orientation and, undoubtedly, would have been plotted in the B quadrangle of Figure 1.^A These men are highly acculturated, but Indian-oriented, a finding that will require discussion in the concluding chapter.

A. [See Category 116, pp. 89-92--Analyst]

177 taught some of the traditions in their homes. But they are not
184 committed, openly at least, to the old religion. They are members, and
565 554 often leaders, of Christian churches. Those who are Catholics look for
177 elements in Catholicism that support Indian values and they are adept at
184 finding Christian analogs for Blackfeet beliefs. Others have joined
565 minor Protestant churches and stress that the predominant Indian
554 attendance at these makes them Indian churches. There is some evidence
771 795 that many Indian-oriented persons are changing church affiliation
frequently and that this is caused possibly by a search for a white
church that is most congruent with the Blackfeet religion.[196]

177 The Interpreters participate in Indian ceremonies and are
184 given parts to play in the Sun Dance. They do not have the traditional
565 wisdom required for the roles, but they are Indian leaders who are
554 sympathetic and "good." They tend to express Indian values, and sub-
[196] scribe to Indian symbols. Interpreters put up a tepee for Indian Days,
[186] wear a Chiefly costume on appropriate occasions, stress their Indian
names and belong to a men's society.

In addition to their Indian training, these men have had the opportunity to get a good education in American schools, to travel and otherwise become experienced with much of white culture. They are capable of competing with the white-oriented, and through ability, hard work and some economic success, are well accepted by the white-oriented community. They could succeed on their own in any rural off-reservation community. The Interpreters are not wealthy. They usually earn good

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[794] [196] The Blackfeet have not accepted the peyote cults even though these are active in reservations in the surrounding region.

177 salaries in Agency or Council positions but they use this income to
184 help support a family ranch. Their less acculturated kinsmen work the
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● 554 ranch in return for some financial support. All share in the profits
and losses from the enterprise.

Because of their Indian-orientation, however, they must curb
[626] their economic ambitions in order to maintain their status. The very
capabilities that make them valuable leaders within their group subject
[561] them to constant surveillance and criticism. In addition, their youth
[888] is held against them. In the past, status through wisdom came with age
[571] and in the eyes of many of their people they are wise too soon. So
these men cannot acquire too much; they must be generous and helpful,
and build a following that will attest to their wisdom, skill and
generosity in future years.

It is possible that in later life these men might take over the positions of custodians of tradition as these become vacated by the present Chiefs, but this is doubtful, even though some people occasionally refer to them as "young Chiefs." The tentative prediction would be that high status positions of both types will be filled from below where the factors of relative education and experience tend to produce differential acculturation within the Indian-oriented society. As will be seen later, people of lower status already give indications as to how these positions will be filled.

Low Status[197]

Low status Indian-oriented people can be described by characteristics greatly similar to those of the same status in white-oriented

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[197] Three of the eight Indian-oriented subjects in the probability sample are ranked in this class (Cases 10, 32, and 47).

177 society. These people are poor. Some are hard workers and others
184 improvident, but lack of training limits these men to irregular wage
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●554 labor. They[A] do not find regular seasonal jobs but must take work where
[464] and when they can find it. Several of the improvident ones, like their white-oriented counterparts, are called "bums and vinos" and are problem cases for the authorities. But there is a difference between men of the differing orientations even at the lowest status level. They face in different cultural directions, and the indices show that the Indian-oriented low status man is more a part of his society than the lower class white man is in his.

In contrast with the white-oriented group, economic factors fail to separate the low from many of the middle status people in Indian-oriented society. Irregular work, low income, poorly maintained and crowded houses are characteristics shared by people variously ranked on the status scale. The ultimate criterion for status assignment is social participation.

Low status people do not take part in as many social activities as do the people of higher positions; they are often present, but usually as onlookers. It is significant, however, that they are not isolated from their group as is often the case with the improvident white-oriented person. The low status Indian-oriented man is welcome
[627] to attend Indian activities if he behaves. If he misbehaves he is eased out, perhaps locked up in the jail, but people do not disown him for this. They joke about it as if his actions were to be expected, and welcome him back when he settles down. If he behaves he may be given a job to do, such as ushering, police duty, or helping with the

[A] [i.e. low-status Indian-oriented people--Analyst]

177 serving of the food. He is one of them, perhaps a kinsman, at least
184 a familiar person in the community and he is given some community
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554 support.

These men have much spare time and spend a great deal of it
[273] in the streetcorner groups. If they, or one of their friends, has a little cash or can beg some from a tourist, they will buy a bottle of wine and get drunk. Such loafing and drinking groups are made up of Indian-oriented people.

177 These men fill a traditional and expected status. The Blackfeet
184 had, in the past, a few improvident and unfortunate people who lacked
565 the "power" to succeed. This was not held against them and it was a
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571 social duty to see that they did not starve. The low status people of
735 today are treated in much the same way; they are thought of as unlucky
[626] and not entirely responsible for their condition. They may stir up trouble but the tendency is to keep the quarrels within the group; they are criticized, admonished but not ostracized. White and white-oriented persons let the more impersonal authorities deal with the low status trouble makers and expect relief to take care of the shiftless ones. The Indian-oriented group feels a responsibility for their own low status people. They are "our people" and "we" take care of them. Family and group responsibility does not end when authorities step in, and the improvident are cared for regardless of welfare. The aid may be given grudgingly but it is forthcoming.

Middle Status[198]

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●554 The majority of the Indian-oriented group are assigned to a middle status that encompasses a broad range of individual differences. The same qualities requisite for high status count here, and conformity to Indian values is more important than economic condition.

These are the people who live the Indian-oriented life described in the previous chapters; who practice the Indian-oriented values and both support and take part in the Indian-oriented society. The middle class actively supports the leaders of their choice in both the traditional and the modern spheres and differ from the lower status people because of their more complete involvement in the life of the [626] community. It is the attitudes, opinions, acts and wants of these people that assign and validate social status; they are the Indian-oriented public that awards some men with loyalty and influence and penalizes others with gossip, criticism and shame.

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555 This class includes people with a wide range of knowledge of and skills in the traditional culture, and in education and experience with the white. These differentials of acculturation establish both limitations on and possibilities for upward mobility for these people. The poorly educated person cannot expect to gain high status of the Interpreter type, and as a consequence they are most apt to follow the pattern established by the Chiefs. There is evidence in the behavior of several men that they have such ambitions. They have quit drinking and "chasing around," and have become active in a men's society, a dancing or singing group, and are learning more of the old culture from association with the Chiefs. They serve on committees

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[198] Five of the subjects in the probability sample are assigned to middle status (Cases 14, 18, 26, 27, and 39).

177 that plan and stage the Indian Days celebration and holiday dances,
184 and attempt to live up to the highest values of the group. Their
565 families are supporting them in this move. The brother of one such
554 man spoke of him proudly:
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> My brother quit drinking twenty years ago and learned Indian singing. He won a singing contest and now he's a champion singer. He's the boss.

[626] Others support the similar ambitions of one of their relatives; they say that this man "isn't so much of a singer" and that he really "doesn't know much" about Blackfeet ways. His ambitions are being challenged as a part of the validation process he must go through.

Several younger men appear to be grooming for the more acculturated high status positions. They are already learning Blackfeet traditions from their elders, and at the same time are applying themselves to their education. The valedictorian of the high school class of 1960 appears to be a likely candidate for a position as an Interpreter. [191] He is continuing his education and gaining experience in American society; he is fluent in both languages, and he has been a [871] good student of Blackfeet culture. His Indian-oriented accomplishments and success in school already have gained him the respect of the Indian-oriented, and his school accomplishments, in turn, have earned him the respect of many in the white and white-oriented community.

177 Much of the description of modern Indian-oriented life is based
184 upon participant observation among people of this middle status, and
565 familiarity with this group sheds light on a question raised earlier
554 about the Indian attitude toward material comfort and possessions. It
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183 was mentioned that the Indian-oriented appeared to have fewer possessions,
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177 and gave them less care than did the white-oriented. Their houses were
184 said to lack a "home-like" quality familiar to a middle class American.
565 554 The observation of middle status Indian-oriented people gave support to
353 these statements.

183 The observer visited many kinds of Indian homes and found one
511 characteristic common to all, regardless of the size of the house or the financial standing of the owner. They were places in which to sleep and eat, but gave little evidence of any concern for comfort. Several homes had "everything"--a davenport, overstuffed chair, refrigerator, lamps, radio and television. In these homes, however, the furniture appeared to be little used, the lamps and appliances were apt to be out of order and poorly maintained. Other parts of the house gave evidence of more care. Beds were neatly made and kitchen areas were orderly and clean. Both bedrooms and kitchens showed signs of being lived in. Family photographs, religious calendars and pictures, and Remington prints decorated the walls and tops of chests of drawers. Visiting with family and friends is done outside, or in the kitchen if the weather is bad.

The present data do not reveal why Indian-oriented people buy appliances and furniture. Perhaps they recognize these as white status symbols. Nevertheless, some Indian-oriented people buy these "material comforts," but their use and care of them suggest that they are not highly valued among that group.

Summary

177 In review, the Indian-oriented society is seen to have a differ-
184 ing set of values than the white-oriented group, and their judgments of
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177 **prestige, influence and status rankings, based upon these values,**
184 **contrast with the white-oriented appraisal of social worth. The**
571 554 **different status patterns, and the part the men of different status**
565 **positions play in the daily life of the tribal community, indicate**
that each group has its own social structure.

177 class norms. An individual who aspires to belong to this society
184 will find social support to the extent that he approximates the
571 behavior set by these norms and displays a commitment to the goals
183 and values of the group.
[565]

Indian-Oriented Society

The patterns of the Indian-oriented society group stand out
clearly despite the many features shared with both white and white-
oriented society, and especially in the areas of contrasting goals
[186] and values. The major goal of this group is to retain its ethnic
identity. Traditional values, and particularly the value placed upon
generosity, persist and serve as both symbols of being Indian, and a
check against the achievement necessary for full economic integration
with the dominant society.

This goal tends to make the Indian-oriented Blackfeet past rather than future oriented. They assert tradition, a tradition made up of remembered Blackfeet culture, borrowed pan-Indian elements and incorporated elements from white culture. The future is uncertain for most Indian-oriented people; past experience has made them suspicious of long-range plans. Consequently, the tendency is to avoid risking present positions for unknown future benefits, to live each day as it comes and to remember real and legendary better days of the past.

177 The Blackfeet Indian-oriented society is organized in conformity
184 to these goals, values and expectations. A man is judged by his display
571 of Indian traits and particularly by how generous he is with the fruits
183 of his achievement. Expressions of such judgements were recorded and
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177 used to construct a scale of status, from low to high, and the re-
184 sulting class structure appeared unrelated to similar levels in both
571 the general American society and the white-oriented Blackfeet group.
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554 Of particular importance, as an indication of Indian-oriented
565 accommodation to the bicultural milieu, is the bifurcation apparent in the Indian system that led to the identification of two high status classes--the Chiefs and the Interpreters. The Chiefs attain influence because of their knowledge of the past; they represent continuity with the Blackfeet forebears and the traditional culture. The Interpreters, on the other hand, are supported because of their knowledge of and experience with both cultures, which enables them to mediate between the subordinate and dominant groups.

The Indian-oriented society in these ways provides tribal members with an alternative route to influence and higher status--another set of class norms regulating the behavior of persons who wish to associate with people who aspire to be Indians. Approximation of these norms and evidence of commitment to the values and goals of the group will help a man gain acceptance and social support from this society.

177 Two hundred and thirty years of acculturation has resulted in
184 a bicultural community held together by special bonds. Acculturation
571 has not resulted in tribal disorganization, but in a reorganization
121 that accommodates the simultaneous persistence of many traditional social and cultural characteristics from both interacting societies. A large part of the tribe has adopted the culture of the dominant society and aspires to assimilate. A smaller number, for reasons

anything like the cash income of *D* and *E*. Many of the group, how-
ever, have set high levels of aspiration which they feel obligated to 434
maintain. Because they are energetic and aggressive, they have a
fairly comfortable existence. The group contains mostly middle-aged 434
property holders who have learned, and do not object to, white tech-
niques of making a living. Those labelled "progressive" are included 177
here, for they have been willing to give up some of the Blackfoot
folkways to acquire some of the comforts of the white man. A few
of the older men who feel themselves in the role of the old-fashioned
band chief fall into this category also. They are hard workers, saga-
cious with their property, and eager to give the appearance of per-
sonal accomplishment. They are among the tribe's most influential [554]
and aristocratic members.

(3) The third class owns property of sufficient size to make some 434
sort of living and is willing to live within the limits of these earnings
with a minimum of supplement. *F* exemplifies this class, as he works 464
for wages only at critical times when a pressing demand for extra
cash arises. Before Christmas he earned $5 by working one week at
the mines and did not return through the remainder of the year.
Before the Sun Dance, again in need of cash, he sold his radio to a
neighbour. *G*, another example, derives his income mainly from
farming, and he rarely adds to this income with wages. Included in 461
this class is the so-called "old Indian" who is not concerned with
work except as a means to feed, clothe, and shelter himself, and to
contribute fittingly on religious occasions. As in buffalo days, when
people hunted only if the bags of dried meat were running low, so
today these people work mainly to satisfy their immediate needs.
Property is important mainly if it helps to obtain these satisfactions
more easily. Another kind of individual in this class is the discour-
aged one who feels that he has been prevented by the present state
of affairs from obtaining satisfaction. Feeling blocked by the agency
or sensing unjust treatment of the Indians, he has ceased to exert
himself, believing his effort to be useless.

Apart from motivation factors, we may note merely the nature 434
of these classes in so far as they concern the economy. An individual
may alter his class as an earner. Certainly many who once were
energetic earners have become discouraged and given up. In general
most young Blackfoot earners begin by living at home or with
someone and become later property-owning householders. Further-
more these classes are not qualitatively distinct but may be thought

CHAPTER FIVE

The Political System

THE BAND CHIEFTAINS

565 IN BUFFALO days all eminent persons of the tribe formed an upper
554 class called "*ıstuyi*," i.e., those before whom one is ashamed. This
is somewhat the equivalent of the contemporary "*ototamapsi*."[1]
[701] Within the *ıstuyi* group there were many degrees of prestige, but it
[622] comprised mainly all the war chiefs and band chiefs. Occasionally
men were found who were not warriors, but who, because of wisdom
701 or supernatural power, enjoyed respected eminence. Anyone with the
requisite number and types of war deeds was considered a war chief.
622 The status of war chief is to be carefully distinguished from that of
the chief of a band who played a more important function in the
social structure of the tribe. Formerly the individual who became a
[701] band chief grew from the membership of the band. First, he had
to become a war chief who distinguished himself, if not excelled,
[555] in feats of battle. This meant *ipso facto* that he was wealthy, for a
successful war chief had horses, guns, and scalps which functioned
622 as economic assets. Of these, a good herd of horses was essential.
556 The second major criterion was that he be generous in the use of
his wealth for the benefit of others. Anyone at any time might ask
such a person for the loan of a horse, gun, or any other article neces-
[431] sary for hunting, war, or some emergency. The band chief or any
potential band chief frequently handed out these articles, especially
horses, as gifts to meritorious persons. Usually eventual reciprocity
622 was expected, except in the case of the poor. The man of eminence
also had to maintain a small group of young unmarried men to
look after his horses and particularly to hunt for him in order to
provide the extra meat needed for guests, widows, and other needy

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[1] Cf. p. 101.

Part 1

CEREMONIAL AND RELIGIOUS USES OF PLANTS

Overview

824 237 The role of plants in the religious and ceremonial life of the Blackfoot was* no less important than that of animals: both were essential for a correct re-enactment of the sacred event. The function of animal artifacts appears to have been documentation in general; the function of certain plant species was preparatory in nature.

781 778 824 By "preparatory" is meant the ritualistic use of plants to help place a person (or a group, such as a tribal society) in a condition to receive power from the sacred realm. The objects contained in the bundles and the charms of personal use attested to the original sacred event by which such power was conferred, and they were the symbolic means through which the [302] [554] revelation was demonstrated. The real power of the ceremony, commonly but mistakenly thought to reside in the songs, really lay in the face-painting, and the owner of the design reserved the right of initial benefit and source. He was the human proprietor of the sacred gift.

783 824 The preparatory role of the plants was essentially that of purification. Blackfoot mythology and ceremonial procedure show that the prerequisite of favors from the supernatural realm was the symbolic shedding of daily life. This cleansing——so suggestive of the initial stages of a rite of passage——usually was brought about in either or both of two ways: the subject could [782] pass through an ordeal in a small enclosure, the sweat lodge. It is important to note that incensing was prescribed primarily for the handling

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[128] *We use the past tense with few exceptions, throughout, because Blackfoot ceremonials belong, alas, mainly to earlier times. However, certain practices persist, albeit in more or less abbreviated or distorted form; and to that extent a "present tense" reading of this account is warranted.

[p.4]

/Northern Blackfoot/

439 276 178 The Blackfoot gave names to the different forms of introduced (trade-goods) tobacco: Crow Gut, Twist, Pressed, Hudson Bay. These gradually replaced the native plant in the rituals.

276 796 Ritual smoking was begun by an orderly, who filled the pipe (Fig. 6) and
passed it, unlit, to the man sitting next to the officiating ceremonialist.
[554] This man had the favored position because of his wealth in bundle ownership.
He drew on the unlit pipe four times and then passed it back to the orderly,
who lit the pipe and gave it to the man next to the distinguished bundle-
owner. This man drew on the pipe four times (not inhaling) and blew the
smoke upward. Then the pipe was passed sunwise (clockwise) to each partici-
pant until it reached the door of the tipi, whence it was returned to the
[562] orderly. The pipe was not passed across the door to the other side of the
lodge, where women and children were seated. If the pipe went out during
the smoke, it was given to the orderly, who cleaned and refilled it.

[554] The manner in which the participant received the pipe varied according to bundle ownership. Thus, a Medicine Pipe bundle-owner would grasp the pipe roughly with both hands half clenched, imitating the actions of a bear.

276 796 554 A ceremony in which smoking had special significance was the Big Smoke,
or All Smoking, ceremony. This ceremony was confined to ceremonialists,
diviners, and bundle-owners. They gathered for the single purpose of
recounting their prestigious and wealthy positions in the tribe. The Big
Smoke commenced at sundown and continued until daybreak, and there was
[533] continuous use of many pipes. Four songs were allowed to be sung for each
bundle owned; participants would often qualify for sixteen songs or more.

WILLOWS

Salix spp.

137 Many species of willow occupy habitats from the highest alpine ridges

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19]

17: Hellson & Gadd E,N-4,5 (1970-1973) 1974 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Part III

PLANTS USED IN THE TREATMENT OF SICKNESS

Overview

755 The Blackfoot practised two kinds of medicine, one of which was
[757] distinguished by its reliance on divination. The other consisted of common
remedies which were available to all.

[462] There was a general procedure in the divination of disease and there is
[791]
[756] evidence to show that there were as many women diviners as men. (Although
it is common practice among anthropologists to denote this kind of ritual
curing as shamanism, we take exception to that in using the term divination,
as we believe that shamanism as practised in the Tibetan sense, does not
apply to the medical treatment of the Plains Indians).

787 In order to obtain power for the purpose of curing an individual would
[785] undertake a vision quest which involved prolonged isolation and fasting.
[776] If the quest was successful, the source of power, usually a spiritual
[778] being in animal form would instruct him in the songs, ritual and construction
● [554] of the curing bundle. There are many variations of the titles of men who
have received power, a common one among the Blood Indians is "natoosi -
insipi" or "sun comes down" another given to us by G.B. Grinell was used
among the south Peigans, "i-so-kin-uh-kin" or "heavy singer for the sick".

756 These bundles remained the personal property of the diviner and could
422
778 not be transferred. Indeed, the source of power was not to be revealed
124 to anyone. We have only been able to obtain an account of this vision quest
from one diviner who has stopped practising. Other informants have given
important information of the patterns of divining disease but have with-held
their own source of power.

[p.62]

/367 cont./

561 practically they were their own masters. The chiefs of the
575 organizations named as guardians of the public welfare selected the camping places on the general route previously agreed upon; and differences of opinion in this matter were settled by a vote of all the police chiefs. As darkness approached, the camp soldiers shouted warnings that all should remain in their lodges after nightfall, for any man found prowling about, whether for the purpose of seeking a meeting with his sweetheart or attempting to play the wild pranks in which the youth took such delight, would be taken, beaten if he resisted, deprived of his robe, which would be slashed into ribbons, and sent back naked to his lodge. Some of the soldiers kept watch over the camp until sunrise, each man patrolling that portion of the camp-circle in which his own band /368/ dwelt, stopping at the edge of that section and meeting there the sentinel of the next band and exchanging signals with him....Guarding the camp at night was performed in turn by the societies appointed for the season's police duty. (1)

1. Curtis, 6, 16-18.

114 In the detailed accounts that follow this author gives many dates of origin and extinction as if the exact time had been determined for each case, but he doubtless means that these are his own approximations based upon the statements of informants. The few special points raised by this writer will be considered under their respective heads.

114 While the preceding accounts taken in their entirety give
121 us quite a detailed account of the Piegan series of societies, they are still far from satisfactory to such a comparative study as we have in mind for this volume; hence, we have felt justified in presenting all our data even though there is some duplication.

561 Mr. Grinnell seems the first to call attention to the rank
and age system of the all-comrade societies, and the implication
575 that a man must enter through the lowest rank. We have discussed many aspects of this ranking with older Indians, seeking to arrive at a consistent view of its functions. No one seemed to have formulated the principles of procedure, except that there was a definite order of rank. It was generally agreed that this rank expressed the relative ages, or dates of origin, of the respective societies. Thus, the pigeons of the Piegan would be the most recent acquisition to the series, while the bulls was the first. Should a new one originate
[554] it must stand below the pigeons. Our informants insisted that the greater worth of the bulls was chiefly due to their relative antiquity and in no wise dependent upon the ages and worth of the members. This may be but a native theory, but if such a conception is held by the leaders in society activities, it must be accepted by us as expressing the functional relations of the various ranks, even though its historical value be small.

575 The owner of the tipi in which the society usually meets, who is also
561 one of the members, keeps a pipe and tobacco ready for use in the cere-
[276] monies. There is no special form of pipe, neither are there any peculiar
● [554] smoking customs pertaining to this society. This individual does not buy
his place by the regular transfer nor is he recognized as having any par-
ticular official status. Nevertheless, it is said that no matter where the
ceremony is performed, this individual is expected to provide the pipe and
care for it.

The lay members in this society are spoken of as the all-brave-dogs and
are limited to twenty individuals. Some informants, however, deny that
[424] there was any special number. Later on it will be shown that each lay
[432] member purchased a particular rattle and since the rattles were, of course,
of a definite number, the membership was limited thereby. The lay mem-
[292] bers have no costume of any kind, but carry their blankets over their left
[237] arms and their rattles in their right hands. On the back of the head each
wears a feather.

[534] An interesting point is that the face painting is determined by the paint-
ing upon the rattle as shown in Fig. 10. The rattles vary greatly in their
[531] painting. Each individual therefore, paints his face according to the
[302] painting upon the rattle he owns. No one now living recalls any symbolic
significance for the painting on the rattles other than that it furnishes the
copy for face painting. There is no special myth accounting for their origin.
[796] When the paint rubs off or it becomes necessary to repaint the rattle, the
former owner of it must be called upon to perform this service. He will
count war deeds and perform other ceremonies after which he paints the
[787] rattle. For this he must receive liberal fees. It was said that the person
who first "dreamed the society" directed that the rattles be painted in this
way.

[887] The old men comrades are expected to give advice in the conduct of the
various ceremonies, one of whom is expected to act as a herald and to ride
[203] about the camps calling the society together whenever a meeting is desired.
[534] These men have no particular costume, but each has a rattle, and may wear
a feather at the back of his head.

[292] The single men comrades are required to perform certain services such
[237] as gathering food and receiving presents. Each has a rattle according to
which he paints and otherwise dresses according to his taste. The society
[556] usually elects the sons of prominent families, since they not only have fine
costumes, but since their relatives are apt to make liberal presents to the
society.

[796] A tipi for the society's ceremonies is set up inside the camp circle. This
[535] is usually the tipi of one of the bear-all-brave-dogs, though other members

561 [Stomick (the bison bulls, the big bulls). They really form
575 the first, i.e., the most distinguished of all the societies,
● [554] and are the first in rank. In the hand they carry a medicine-sign hung with bison-hoofs. If they dance with their own
[237] special songs, each one rattles these hoofs. They are too
old to handle the job of policing: for they have gone through
all the societies and are now considered on the retired list.
In a certain way, they have already come down again from the
[292] societies of active and respected soldiers. At their
[237] medicine-dances they wear on their heads a cap made from the
long forehead hair and mane of the bull bison, which is long
and flowing. (Maximilian, German edition, 578-579)--Analyst
translation]

561 The leader of this society has the say as to when the camp circle shall be
575 formed and where. He pitches his tipi within the circle.

When dancing, the lances are held out in front almost vertical. The
561 drummers sit in the center. The members dance around them sun-wise,
575 except those with the straight-up bonnets, each bearing a rattle. The latter
go in the reverse direction. The dance is closed by the leader shaking a robe
796 as if driving buffalo.

535 Mr. Duvall writes, "Near the close of the dance the man wearing the bonnet with the arrow dances in the lead while all the other members follow him. He attempts to break through the lines of the spectators who wave him back with blankets and robes and shout. The dancers seat themselves and then go through the same movements as before, trying to break through the crowd, etc. At the fourth attempt the spectators allow the dancers to pass, ending the dance."

[782] When the unwrapped sticks are offered at the sun dance a square rawhide bag is tied on containing the paint and moccasins used in the ceremony.

561 A curious rule is that when a man sells his membership, he must not meet
575 the purchasers, they being as taboo as mother-in-law and son-in-law. Once
[532] when visiting the Blood there was great confusion in the writer's tent over
[784] the unexpected entrance of a new horn member. Like the mother-in-law
[606] taboo, this can be removed by liberal gifts in a special manner.

The belief is strong that horn members have power of life and death over
[431] all outsiders. A short magic formula is known to them with which the result
[754] can be had.

Running-wolf, a very able Blood Indian, is authority for the statement
561 that after the bull society became extinct the horns took over many of their
575 rites. The headdress of the horn leader is said to have been worn by the
173 bulls. His very aged mother remembered seeing the bull dance. He called attention to the large part buffalo conceptions seem to play in the ceremonies and origin myths, whereas the kit-fox of the Piegan has a different mythical origin. One of our Piegan informants was positive that the buffalo did not figure in the kit-fox ritual in any manner whatsoever. It will be noted that this theory of Running-wolf is consistent with our accounts of the kit-fox. On the whole, we believe this to be the most probable explanation of the
[554] differences between the horns and the kit-fox. In a way, this would also account for the unusual prestige now enjoyed by this organization.

the pipe. At the close of each dance he fills the pipe and hands it to the 794
leader after which it circulates. As soon as it is burned out the dancing 769
is resumed. There are four periods of dancing. The evolutions consist 796
of dancing, alternately facing the fire and the walls, twice for each. Then 535
all sit down, save the leader who takes the pipe and prays. Then he sits down and smokes. In starting a dance all rise to their knees, making movements as in playing the stick game, where with four movements they rise to their feet.

During the ceremonies no one must laugh nor must anyone spit. No [784]
dead person should be designated by name. [551]

A special ceremony was sometimes given by two members. They did
not use the regular painting but dressed in fine clothes and danced with [789]
ropes and whips. This was believed to bring good luck in capturing horses.

THE ALL-SMOKING CEREMONY.

We come now to a ceremony that goes by the name kanochisisin, or all- 794
smoking ceremony. It is not clear whether this is a cult or simply a group ceremony like the sun dance. The right to lead in the proceedings seems
to be owned by one individual and may be transferred like other ritualistic [424]
things. Thus it is said, "If the man who leads in the ceremony is pleased [432]
with the presents he receives, he may transfer the right to lead to one pledging the ceremony."

The distinguishing feature of the ceremony is that it is a kind of medicine [554]
coup counting. Like warriors recounting their deeds, those present are called upon to count over the different medicine rituals they have owned
and all fired with new enthusiasm to secure more. In conformity to a vow 794
or formal pledge a man will invite people to his tipi for an evening feast. 796
He will engage a man with the right to lead to conduct the all-smoking 554
ceremony. He will have ready a pot of tongues and berry soup; also a quantity of tobacco cut and mixed. The meeting is to last until this is used up. Each guest is called upon in turn to sing songs from one of the rituals of medicines owned by him. So they pass around in order. The process is thus a kind of counting out in that the last men are those who have owned the most medicines.

The following account was secured by Mr. Duvall:—

> When a man vows to give the all-smoking ceremony he invites many men to his 794
> tipi and calls upon someone who has the privilege to lead the ceremony. A fee is 796
> paid in blankets or clothing. First the man giving the feast makes a soup of tongues,
> cherries, and blood. Before the tongues are cut up by the women, prayers are said [782]

721 neck of a buffalo hide. Heavy wooden lances were also used
[411] extensively by some tribes in horse days and may have been
[177] copied from Spanish models. Plains warfare but rarely involved
pitched battles, or, indeed, save where specific motives
for revenge existed, the serious reduction of the enemy's
strength. Horses, not killing, were the reasons for going 'on
the war-path'. A small party set out on foot to the enemy's
territory, taking only their weapons, sleeping robes and a small
store of dried meat. If possible they crept up to an enemy
camp, cut loose the horses and drove them off. Conflict
721 followed only if they were discovered or pursued. Among the
555 Blackfoot the capture of an enemy's weapons ranked highest
as a deed. Among some other tribes, where the counting of
[171] coups was more formally elaborated, the touching of an enemy
ranked first, with the capture of weapons and horses as subsidiary
deeds. Coups could, among some tribes like the Cheyenne,
be counted by several persons on a single enemy, and they
ranked in strict order of touching, irrespective of who actually
[532] wounded or killed him. These deeds, recorded in picture
writing on tipi walls and buffalo robes, constituted a sort of
heraldry. Whenever a man was called upon to play a part in
a social or ceremonial function he first recounted his deeds.

648 Alternating periods of friendship and strife were the relations
of the Blackfoot to other tribes, but, like other Plains tribes,
721 the Blackfoot had traditional enemies like the Cree, Assiniboine
and Crow, and also allies, such as the Sarcee and less permanently
the Gros Ventre, against whom the elders forbade the
[201] young warriors to raid. The frequent contact of tribe with
tribe, whether in war or peace, was facilitated by the development
of elaborate gesture symbols, or 'sign language', which
was uniform over wide areas, irrespective of the fundamental
differences in speech.

554 Rank among the Blackfoot depended not only on military 'Medicines'
778 prowess but also on the possession of 'medicines', that is, of
rituals, and the objects necessary for their performance, which
would ensure the success of some project or desire, be it health,
[422] a journey, a raid, a hunt or another ceremony. The 'medicines'
were owned by individuals and transferred from one to another
[432] for payments. These were, however, not primarily commercial
transactions, but their full consideration cannot be undertaken
here. The ritual apparatus was usually wrapped in bundles of
554 otter or some other valued skin. While most older men possessed
some medicine the owners of the 'medicine pipe bundles'
were the senior and most entitled to respect. On the rank of
their medicine depended the place at a feast, the order of speech

554 at meetings and many other matters of precedence, all of which
[576] were observed most scrupulously. Rigid rules of etiquette and
[181] ceremonial procedure affected all sides of the social life of the
Blackfoot and gave it a highly formalized aspect, characteristic
of the Plains and surprising among a people of apparently
simple economy.

181 But the Blackfoot and other Plains Indians are a hunting
[224] people among whom special conditions existed. They had a
[517] very rich source of food supply in the bison herds. Between the
periods of intensive hunting they had considerable leisure,
which on account of their nomadism could be applied only
to a limited extent to arts and crafts, and appears to have been
[177] devoted largely to the elaboration of ceremonial which affected
every aspect of their life. They occupied a very wide tract of
open country, across which travel was easy, so that every tribe
made many contacts with its neighbours on a wide front and
over what were, for a food gathering people, very large areas.
[231] Finally, they had acquired a domestic animal from a higher
civilization which gave them unusual opportunity for satisfying
their need and opportunity for mobility. The western Plains
thus form a very large area of surprisingly uniform and complex
culture of hunting peoples diverse in origin, among whom new
concepts and fashions spread with great rapidity to the limits
of the area, but nearly always stopped short where the mobile
hunting life was itself arrested.

[pp. 69-474 not processed]

to pray. Since then I have been praying steadily, and up to 778
this day I am still praying.

Sometime after we got this medicine pipe bundle for the 782
first time we were transferred a large tipi with a painted design. 342
It came from the Blackfoot division. It was the Yellow- 532
Otter-Painted Lodge. Later we also got the Half-Red-Painted 778
Lodge and the Yellow-Painted Lodge. Along with the painted
lodge I got as a child, I have owned four sacred lodges in my
lifetime. Each of them has its own powers and its own story,
and I can call on them in my prayers and get help that way.
That is our religious belief.

Mokakin and I have also joined the Horns Society several 575
times. First, we had that membership bundle called Has-a-
Rattle, which is one of the leading ones. These membership 778
bundles come from long ago. We went around with this bundle
for several years, and I treated it good, too, just like our
pipe. Then we gave up our medicine pipe to another family
that made a pledge for it, just like we did. Each time it was [425]
transferred, the new owners gave up their best horses, wagons,
sometimes cattle, blankets, money, and other valued property.
That was to show how sincere they are in taking over such a
sacred responsibility. In the past only the leading chiefs and [554] ●
their families took care of the medicine pipe bundles. My
father's father was a leading chief in the old days, and he became
one of the main medicine pipe men in the tribe.

Backside-to-the-Fire Medicine Pipe changed families several 778
times, then we made a vow to take it back again. The
first time we got it from Black Forehead and his wife, and this 425
second time we got it from Day Rider and his wife. After
some time we passed it on to Fred Weasel Fat and his wife.
This second time when we got the pipe there were not so many
old-timers left for the ceremony, so it was shorter than the
first.

In our old age we took Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe once

462 smoking and entertaining his friends. Yet my grandmothers did it for as long as they could walk, and they were not known to complain. They brought water, too, from the holes that they chopped into the frozen river. But my grandfathers, in turn, spent countless frozen days and nights out on those same cold winter days, seeking food to kill and bring home; or defending their families from prowling enemies; or hiking several hundred miles to bring home needed horses and social honor. Times have changed so much that we can barely imagine the daily challenges faced by our forefathers. For that reason it is pretty hard to make any judgments about the ways they did things.

462 Let me just say that in the culture of my people the work
of the women was generally respected and honored, for the
562 men knew very well that they could not live without them.
The people of the past thought it a great honor that the
women should bear and rear the children, ensuring that there
would be people in the future. Equally honorable was the
women's work of creating the lodges that made the homes,
taking them up and down when camp moved, heating them,
and providing the bedding and clothing for the household
554 members. In the social life of my grandmothers, a household
was judged not only by the bravery and generosity of the man,
but also by the kindness and work habits of the woman. Even
the wife of a poor man could find honor among the people by
being a good housekeeper.

000 This traditional life of housekeeping was passed from mother to daughter through daily experience, not in classrooms or from books. That is why I feel that the Sun Dance encampment is so important for the young among my people. That is also why I feel that young women should offer their help and friendship to the old. What better way is there to learn which wood burns best in a fire, and which kind of meat is best to roast? How else would I know that one of the finest rewards for being an old woman comes from going outside the

their way to Waterton and Banff National Parks 778
or to the famous Calgary Stampede in Canada. 823
Yet there are areas far enough away from the
speeding traffic for the Belly Buttes to remain the
isolated center of the Holy Spirit among the
Blood People. 823

The Power of the Buttes is felt by all who go 778
near them, even when there is no encampment in 776
progress. One winter a desperate family searched
an old Sun Dance campsite for firewood, which is [372]
scarce out on the prairie. This family discovered
they were using the fallen log of the sacred Center
Pole for fuel when they were awakened during
a cold night by an unseen Power singing the holy
Center Pole songs in a loud voice. Another time,
an enterprising rancher from our reserve began to
fence in the Buttes so that his cattle could graze
there. But he was discouraged from building his [784]
fence when strange sensations overtook him; older [782]
relatives reminded him that Holy Spirits must not
be disturbed without some sacrifice.

□ 823

In 1972 the Sun Dance Encampment was 796
located near the edge of the flat that overlooks 778
the tree- and brush-lined Belly River bottoms. As [133]
the flat rises up from the river, the Belly Buttes
rise up from the flat, farther to the east. It is in [787]
those Buttes that many men have gone to find
their visions and Spirit helpers. Bears lived there [136]
not long ago. Today, eagles sometimes build their
nests there, and mountain lions cross tracks with
porcupines and coyotes. In some of the many [764]
caves and crevices are now the final resting places
of those Old People who passed away after laws
were made forbidding the traditional practice of
placing bodies near to the Spirit World on top of
scaffolds or in branches of trees.

It was still morning when we arrived at the 123
campground with our outfit. Our spiritual grand- 115
parents, Mokakin and Ponah, pointed out a
vacant spot next to their tipi where they thought
we should camp. Mokakin, who was attending his 553
[554]

seventy-second Sun Dance Encampment, re- 553
minded us that he had taken on a new name to
celebrate reaching the status of Old Man. From [554]
now on he would be known by his late uncle's
name, PitachPikis, or Eagle Ribs. For most of his
life he had been Mokakin, or Pemmican, although his many friends in towns and on other reservations usually called him by his recorded name, Pat Weaselhead.

We hung our sacred Bundle from its wooden 778
tripod at the rear of the space selected for our
tipi, in keeping with the traditions taught to us.
SikskiAki's dad was along to help us set up prop- 342
erly. It was not long before we had the four main poles for our tipi tied correctly and raised into place. Other poles were leaned against the crotch formed by the tops of these four. With a strong pole we lifted up the tipi's canvas cover and fastened it down. Then we adjusted the poles, tied up our inner lining, spread out our floor mats and bedding, and moved in the rest of our supplies of food, water, and clothing. In other parts of the camp circle, tipis and tents were being set up at the same time.

Ours was the second Yellow-Otter Tipi set 342
up in the camp. Mokakin's and Ponah's, next
door, was of the same painted design. Their de- 532
sign had been transferred to them many years before by a man from the North Blackfoot division of our People. Their canvas cover was so old that the otters painted on the south side (male otters, by tradition) had lost all their black paint and were now only white outlines against the faded yellow background. Sun shines on the land of the Bloods from the south, as He travels from east to west; the north side of the old tipi was not nearly so faded. Mokakin remarked, "Those otters on the south side look like a bunch of white-haired old men! That's the last Sun Dance for this tipi. Next year we use a new one, one with a different design. Ponah is gonna make it up this winter and I am going to paint it myself."

I asked which design it would have and he

ried a young warrior named Scraping White, who 551
already had one wife and three children. When
Scraping White's oldest daughter saw her new
little brother she told her mother, "I like my new [553]
brother—I want his name to be Napi." So he was
called Napi, "Old Man." Many years later he
took the name of his original father, Wolf Old
Man. On the tribe records his name is Willie [874]
Scraping White, and it was by this name that he
was called during the three years that he attended
the Calgary Industrial School in the 1890s.

"No, I didn't get much schooling at that 874
place," he once told us, "because the instructors
thought that a fellow my size would be more use
to them out in the fields than in the classroom.
I'm glad," he said with a smile, "because I liked
the outdoors much better than the insides of
buildings." The Old Man speaks only very broken [191]
English and he never did learn to read or write. [212]
But he did become the school's star football
player. He used to tuck his long braids up under [526]
his helmet. "When I came back to the reserve the [302]
kids wanted me to teach them how to play, and
the girls sure admired me when I passed the ball a [554]●
long ways," he said with a combined look of pride
and embarrassment. He was usually too modest to
tell of his personal accomplishments. Unfortunately,
several accidents while playing football
and ice hockey weakened his knees. "Better to
have weak knees than a weak mind," he sometimes
said to console himself. After three years in
the school's fields he finally decided to ask how
much longer he would have to stay. "I never knew
that I was allowed to ask the principal such a
question," he said, "so I felt pretty foolish when
he told me that I was free to go whenever I
wanted. I packed up pretty fast and left." He was [797]
also one of the first students at St. Paul's Anglican
School, on the Blood Reserve, though he did not [873]
stay long.

The Old Man learned much about our Old 115
Ways from his stepfather, Scraping White, who 793
was Owner of many sacred Medicines and knew

[p.13-A]

beating; he danced in a curve about the north side 796
of the centre pole, blowing the whistle also in 785
time and looking up at the top of the lodge,
throwing more and more of his weight upon the 304
ropes [*until*] *his body was almost at right angles* [535]
to the ropes, tied far above him. As his weight
seemed insufficient to break loose the skin [533]
through which the skewers were, a man sitting
near quickly got up, threw his arms around the
young fellow's body, pulled backwards and tore
him loose. He lay upon the ground while one of
the attendants [*not a priest or a doctor*] *cut away*
the torn end[*s*] *of skin which were handed to*
him. He then arose to his feet and buried the said 796
piece of skin in the loose dirt at foot of sacred 785
pole, took off all the sage ornaments and hung
them upon the offerings of the sacred pole, and
went home. A young man named A-suc [*Goes to*
War] *was also put through the torture and I suc-*
ceeded in getting a pretty fair photo of him, an
instantaneous one taken as he was on the jump in
his dance. When these young men are having the
incisions made in their breasts, they often whisper
to the operator stating how they wish the cuts to
be, deep so that there will be difficulty in getting
loose, or shallow cuts that will be easily broken.
Those who do the cutting make it a rule to do the [554]●
reverse to what they are requested, thus they re-
ward the stout-hearted who say "cut deep" and
punish the cowards. The Ats-Knax Society [*Itski-* [575]
naiks, or Horns] *furnished the music for this day.* [533]
They sat at the back of the enclosure upon the
South side of the banner; the other, or North
Side of the banner was occupied by the women
who "made the lodge" and others.

Calf Tail and Goes to War were the first two dancers to fulfill their vows to suffer before the People, as just described. They had promised to "give themselves to Sun." Thus, the long rawhide ropes were attached to their breasts so that as the flesh opened, the blood nearest their hearts would flow upon the ropes. From there the Spirit

[p.38-B]

back. Yellow Horn pulled hard on the rawhide 785
ropes attached to the skewers. Then I danced. I 796
*didn't dance long before my flesh gave way and
the skewers pulled out. Yellow Horn came to me
and cut the skin that had broken. He trimmed it
off even. Then he gave me the pieces of skin he
had cut away and told me to take them and stick
them in the ground at the base of the Center
Pole, saying, "Now, Sun, I have completed my
vow."*

The Old Man said that he often saw on his
father's chest the scars where he had been
pierced, but that old Scraping White suffered no
other permanent injuries from the experience. He
said that his father had asked for deep cuts and
had been fortunate in actually having the mildest
torture of the three. He remembers his Old [115]
People telling that Heavy Head suffered more
than anyone they had ever seen. Here is how
Heavy Head told his story to the same anthropologist:

There were only two of us, Buffalo Teeth, 796
my partner, and I. We went to war together to 785
take horses. At Medicine Hat we found a small 782
camp of Cree half-breeds. It was night when we
saw their camp. It was moonlight. I looked up at [726]
*Moon and prayed, "I shall be tortured at the Sun
Dance if I have good luck and get home safely."
Then I stole up to the camp and got one bay that
was tied in front of a lodge without any of the
enemy waking or seeing me. Buffalo Teeth took a*
roan. We started back to the Blood camp, trav- [261]
*eled three days and three nights with no food
other than a black rabbit. We got awfully weak
and hungry.*

When I reached home I told my story to my 796
father, Water Bull. The old man got up and sang 785
his honoring song. Then he told me, "My son,
you have done something worth doing. You have [554] ●
*made a vow that you will be tortured at the Sun
Dance. You must do it this coming Sun Dance."*

fascinated by Napi's escapades. With a shy smile 538
she added, "Now I know some of those stories 517
that my dad never told me." She was referring to
the ribald Napi adventures that were left out of
the series when children were around. Wilson recorded
his own versions of these naughty Napi
stories that I later discovered had been "censored"
when I heard the original, adult versions
from our Old People.

Ponah told us that her dad's name was Iron, 551
but that he was also called Center Speaker. He
died not many years ago at the age of ninety-six.
His father was the famous Ki-soum, or "Sun"—
the same man Wilson called Moon. Ki-soum was
a holy man, a doctor, and a minor chief as head of
the Fish Eaters band. The confusion over his
name can be explained this way: Although the
common word for Sun in Blackfoot is *Natosi*, an
older, seldom-used word is *Ki-soum;* and the word
for Moon is *Gho-Ghomae-Ki-Soum*, or "Night
Sun."

Iron is famous among our People for having 778
been Keeper of more sacred Medicines than anyone 422
else. Bundles of all kinds were transferred to 554 ●
him, and he, in turn, transferred them to others. I
asked Ponah which of the sacred Bundles he was
best at leading ceremonies for. She said, "Oh no,
my dad didn't lead any ceremonies. He was too
stingy. He always said, 'My prayers help me. I
want to keep them for myself. I don't want to
give them away.' That's why he never led ceremonies
for other people." Iron's attitude about
his prayers was somewhat unusual. He was long
known for this philosophy. When his father, Ki-soum,
died in 1898, Iron was the likely successor
as chief of the Fish Eaters. However, the People
of that band chose Eagle Bear instead. Eagle Bear
was the husband of Otter Woman, Iron's sister.

One of Iron's brothers took his father's 796
name, Ki-soum. He was a Weather Dancer during 276
Medicine Lodge ceremonies. Another brother of
Iron, Wolf Shirt, was famous for having great [554]
Power with our Medicine Pipes. Many Old

[p.55-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

115

up at Fort Benton, the main trading post for the [443]
Piegans in Montana. He worked as a teamster on [439]
bull trains (wagon trains pulled by bulls) over the
old Whoop-Up Trail between Fort Benton and
Edmonton, Alberta. During these trips, he got to
know the family of a Piegan named Red Tail
Feathers and his two Blood wives, Mountain Lion
Woman and Woman's Word. Among the children
of this family was Bird Rattler and AwokAki,
or "Smart Woman," who became Joe
Beebe's wife. Their only child was Grandma's Joe
Beebe. When the boy was born, AwokAki was [845]
not able to pass her afterbirth. Joe Beebe wanted [759]
to get the white doctor, but the wives of Red Tail
Feathers had no faith in him and insisted on doctoring
AwokAki themselves. She passed away
after six days.

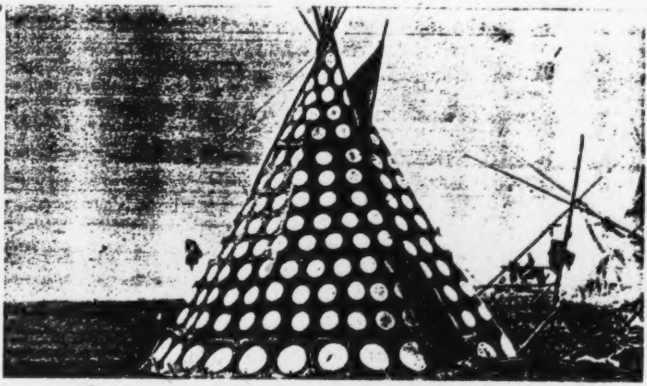
Old Joe Beebe married again, but continued [736]
to provide for his two mothers-in-law. Mountain
Lion Woman raised little Joe for the first seven
years of his life. After AwokAki's death, this old [853]
lady took him to women who had babies so that
he could nurse from them. If they weren't available,
she made broths for him, letting him suck
on her own dry breasts for contentment. His continued
sucking finally caused milk to come from
her breasts, so that she was able to nurse her
grandson for some time. The old lady delighted in
showing off whenever visitors were around that
she could nurse the baby.

When young Joe Beebe was about seven, his [872]
father placed him in the Dunbow Boarding
School, where he stayed for most of the next
twelve years. Many other boys from this reserve
were sent to Dunbow. At the age of nineteen he [464]
returned to the reserve to work as interpreter and
scout for the Mounted Police. Although his [156]
speech and appearance led many to think of him
as a white man, he soon let his hair grow long
enough to braid and began to take part in the
frequent powwows. He became an excellent Grass [796]
Dancer, earning the right to dance with the [177]
Forked Stick during the Dog Feast, a ceremony [535]
our People had adopted from the Assiniboines.
[554]

[p. 58-A]

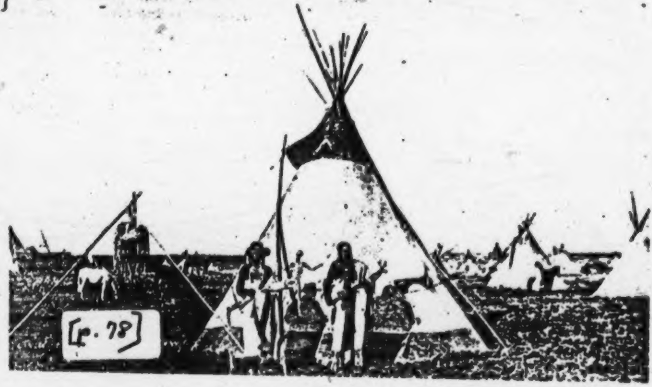
21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

342
822
532



All-Star Painted Lodge in 1891. (R. N. Wilson)

Antelope Painted Lodge in the Blood Camp in 1891. The background color of this lodge was yellow, to represent the an-
telope's sandy prairie environment. The stripe around the bottom represents the open plains. At the top is Night Sky with a
[237] crescent Moon. The door flap of this tipi was an antelope hide, and dried antelope hooves were strung up and fastened to the
smoke flaps and over the doorway, to rattle in the wind. An antelope fawn skin was used as a flag. The tipi's special incense
[534] was sweet grass mixed with dried antelope droppings. The figure on the back of the tipi represents its Owner. In one hand he
is holding an offering to Sun, and in the other a pipe. The lodge is the home of a distinguished man, because it sits farther
[361] inside the camp circle than the others. (R. N. Wilson)
[554]



[p. 78]

pay for my membership. Maybe I wouldn't have 561
had enough horses left to keep on farming. That's 575
what happened to some others who joined."

Our uncle was born in about 1900 to SikskiAki
and Natosina. His mother became old. Later, [425]
her name was given to the infant girl who was to
become my wife. Before SikskiAki, his father had 551
a first wife called Marmot Woman; and before 553
Natosina, his mother had been married to Low
Horn, who was killed on his way to the Sun
Dance Encampment of 1898.

Our uncle's dad, Natosina, was best known by the name Eagle Plume; and our uncle himself is officially registered as Willie Eagle Plume. At one time he was known as Big Snake, the name of his father's brother. And now, as we fed him breakfast, he told us he had taken a new name, this one from his father's half-brother, Aukitsikinnih, "Bad Moccasin." But he is best known as Atsitsina. It was a childhood name that remained with him throughout his life.

At first many of our People receive a baby
name referring to a personal characteristic. Later, [554]
as they grow into childhood, they are given a
childhood name, usually in honor of an ancestor
or other successful person. Then, upon a first war-raid
or distant journey, a person may take an
adult name for himself, or be given one by others.
Finally, in old age, many give up their names to
some favored young relative and take on their
final name. A person might also change his name [787]
for other reasons, such as being inspired by
dreams.

I used to think that our uncle's name was Glove Man, the literal translation of the word *Atsitsina*. But just recently I learned that his name is actually understood to mean "Prairie Owl Man." He explained how this happened:

"Oki, the reason my name is Atsitsina—I'll tell you the story. My father's sister, her name was Three Owl Woman, and her husband, his name was Sits-With-His-Chest-Out, they had two children. Their youngest child was a little older than

[p. 106-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

on to the west side of camp, where they again sat 575
down to await anyone who wished to make offer- 796
ings. They repeated this at the north and east 782
ends, then returned to their lodge.

The next morning, people would have another opportunity to approach the Motokiks for prayers and blessings, this time in their lodge.
There, the prayer seekers would be painted with [302]
the Center Pole design. We wished to have Mrs.
Red Crow, the society's only remaining Scabby [123]
Bull, paint our son Wolf Child, so that he could add this blessing to his young life.

MINIPOKAIKS: THE FAVORITE CHILDREN

That evening, after the camp quieted down, we 574
went next door again to visit Mokakin and Ponah.
Eagle Ribs is always happy to entertain his guests [517]
with stories and talk. One of that night's subjects 593
was *minipokaiks*—"favorite children." It was a 858
tradition among our People for parents or grand-
parents to select a child as a favorite, one who [554]
showed particular promise to succeed in our
Ways, given proper care and Teaching. If the
parents of a minipoka went to many ceremonies,
the child was likely to grow up to become a cere-
monial leader. If the parents went to many social
functions, the child was likely to learn much
about leadership. Other minipokaiks, however, [155]
were simply spoiled and pampered so that they
grew up expecting others to help them at the first
sign of difficulty. Mokakin told us this legend, 539
The Story of the Abandoned Children, about one 773
minipoka of the long-ago.

This happened a long time ago. I don't know how long. I heard the story told by others when I was young.

[P.119-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

Dance, and the assembled men spend the night 796
singing and feasting and dancing. At the first sign 432
of daybreak five or six of them take the stem and 778
pipe and the owl and silently go to the lodge of
the sleeping candidate, taking with them a stroud
blanket or robe upon which they place the man.
Putting into his hands the stem and owl, they
then seize the corners of blanket and lift the man
bodily off the ground and carry him out and off to
the lodge of the owner of pipe where the ceremony
is to take place. They there deposit him
upon the right of the Sacred outfit, which [place]
is vacated by the host who takes very little part in
what follows. While they are carrying their prisoner
from one lodge to the other, a great deal of
shouting is done by themselves and those in the
other lodges. [This shouting is in the form of [554]
cheers honoring the candidate.] The candidate,
when seated, places the things he has been carrying
in their places. Singing and dancing is now
indulged in for about two hours, during which
the guests slip out one by one and go home and
wash and put on their good clothes, as they are
looking rather tough after the night's sleepless
feasting. Finally a couple of priests of the occa- [824]
sion chew sweet grass [again, sweet pine, the [261]
Medicine Pipe incense] and prepare to do the
decorating. A boy is decorated, his friends having [302]
paid two horses for the privilege. First a red ring [852]
is painted around the candidate's face and around
each wrist, and from there around to tips of
fingers; a spot is painted, one on each shoulder,
and feet are also painted red. Priest's hands are [292]
waved four times to incense before he does the [237]
painting; he now takes a sheep skin band, hair outside,
painted red and blue, and puts it on man's
head, hand waved four times to incense; a feather
is stuck through hair at top of head, from right to
left, and boy is fixed up same way. Some other
children are now painted.

The vendor's wives now paint candidate's wives and hold up a blanket, curtaining off that portion of the lodge where they sit and dress them completely in new clothes which they, the

[p. 130-A]

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

face; while this is being done a third priest stands 796
outside holding the fancy stem towards middle of 778
blanket to time of slow beat of drums. 432

A blue bead and shell is tied on each top [302]
knot; the priests again chew sweetgrass, spit on [237]
their hands and rub them over heads of man and
boy after they have fixed the hair; head bands and [301]
feathers are now replaced. One priest now gets up [824]
with man and boy, man with fancy stem in his [261]
hand; all face South then West then North and
dance a minute to slow time in each direction, at [535]
which there is great applause. [In the form of [152]
shouts and war cries. We clap our hands only to
accent our talking, not to applaud. The "applause" [554]
is to cheer the new Medicine Pipe Man
during his first ceremonial act as Owner.]
Women do same, that is, candidate's wives and
two other women. All morning, relations of candidate [431]
have been bringing in household articles
such as dishes, fry pans, cups and saucers, pails,
also blankets, guns, and etc. and piling them up at
the entrance. These are now distributed by vendor
and his wife to their relations, probably giving
those who contributed when they were buying
the pipe years ago.

Pipe is now rolled up and the newly made medicine man's wife carries it home on her back.

Wilson learned the Ways of the Medicine 796
Pipe ceremonies quite well, although, as indicated 778
by my parenthetical comments, he occasionally [114]
made a mistake, or misinterpreted. The
following story, told by our uncle, Atsitsina, illustrates [115]
how well Wilson knew these ceremonies.
The story takes place during the Sun Dance Encampment at the Belly Buttes in the 1920s.

I will tell you the story of Long-Nosed Crow. 796
His name was Bob Wilson. He was just like an 778
Indian. He spoke the Blackfoot language just as I 177
am speaking it now. Everybody knew him. He knew me and my father very well.

One time, when this big-shot from the States called Schultz [James Willard Schultz, the author

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Later on the Fourth Day

Back at our tipi, we put away our blankets and 312
other things, lay down in the shade, fanned ourselves, and drank lots of cool water. Getting water to the Sun Dance Camps used to be quite a chore in the Old Days, as there was no-accessible water source in the Belly Buttes. Nowadays, a truck with a full tank of cold well-water drives around the camp circle every evening so that people can fill their containers.

It was a clear, calm, middle-of-summer day; 575
the temperature must have been at least a hundred. 432
We heard someone singing. The song was
to honor the wife of Harry Shade, about to become [533]
a member of the Motokiks. Although it is [554]
traditional for this society to transfer memberships [782]
as a group, a woman may make a vow to
join if she learns that a present member is willing [422]
to part with her Society Bundle. As in this case, [424]
Noyiss, the wife of Henry Standing Alone, had
agreed to transfer her membership. We looked toward the Motokik's lodge, where we saw someone leading a fine horse with a pile of beautiful blankets on its back—all representing payments for the new membership.

Part of the Motokiks' transfer ceremony is 575
public and part is closed. We walked over to the 432
lodge to join a crowd of others to see what we 796
could through the two doorways and the lodge
covers, which were opened for all to see. Inside, [535]
three women were dancing in place. They wore [292]
[534]

[p. 136-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

he danced. He handed the sacred Stem to me, 778
then stepped aside, permitting the man behind 432
him to dance before us. This man carried the 796
secondary Pipe, which he gave to me. The third [535]
man in line gave me the wrapped owl skin; the
fourth man handed me the decorated whistle
and rawhide rattle.

The capture party spread out a blanket and instructed me to sit on it, holding these sacred objects next to my body. With the help of two young men, they all picked up the blanket, lifting me into the air. They carried me out toward Stabs Down's tipi, SikskiAki and Wolf Child following behind.

Atsitsina walked along, singing the ancient [533]
honoring song of our family's band, the Many
Children. He preceded each song by calling, in a [554]
loud, sing-song fashion, "Natosina, Ah-hey . . .
SikskiAki, Ah-hey . . . Makwi Poka, Ah-hey,"
and then he sang, announcing the sacred duty we
were about to assume.

I could hear the Old Man's voice, booming above the other drummers, singing in Stabs Down's white tipi as we approached it. On the way, the party stopped four times and gently lowered me to the ground. They carried me into the tipi as Sun moves, from east to west around the fire. The Owner's seat was vacant, south of the opened Bundle. SikskiAki and Wolf Child sat at my right. The leader sat to my left; he instructed me to replace the sacred objects in the opened Bundle between us.

The Old Man was very proud that his [576]
"grandchildren" sat in the place of honor next to
the sacred Bundle that had so long been his. He [533]
sang a rousing honoring song that silenced every-
one in the lodge. When he finished he took up his [534]
drum and beat a rolling introduction with his
drumstick.

The drummers began one of the Medicine 778
Pipe dance songs and the four members of the 432
capturing party danced with the sacred objects. 796
White Horn led the group, which included 535

[p.139-A]

around them. The societies for older men were 575
chosen for these duties. 625

There were seven men's societies in the Old
Days. Together, all their members were known as [361]
Ichkunakatsiiks, or "All-Comrades." These
societies included the Mosquitoes, Braves, Crow- 575
Carriers, Brave Dogs, Horns, Black Soldiers (or 561
Black Seizers), and Bulls. In later years of the
Old Days, the Bulls Society became extinct, while
the Pigeon Society formed in its place. The
youngest groups were the Pigeons and
Mosquitoes; the oldest were the Horns, Black Soldiers,
and Bulls. The ultimate in a warrior's life was to [554] ●
have been a member of all the societies.

The younger societies were mainly social.
The Pigeons were originally boys who had not
gone on any war raids. By the time they had been
on a few, they usually became members of the
Mosquito Society.

The Mosquitoes are said to have originated [787]
in the dream of a man who lay naked out on the
prairie and let swarms of mosquitoes suck blood
from him. While he was unconscious afterward, a
mosquito came to him and gave him the society
for his generosity. Each member would wear an [237]
eagle claw upon each wrist, to represent the
mosquito's bill. During ceremonies, the members [626]
would use the claw to scratch those who got in
their way. Anyone who resisted their symbolic [796]
scratches would be fallen upon by all the
members and severely scratched.

Each society had a ceremonial dance, during 575
which the members had their faces and bodies 796
painted and wore their society insignias. The [535]
significant part of the Braves' ceremonial dance was
the end, when all the members ran north out of
the camp circle and threw their moccasins into
the air to symbolize the discovery of a buffalo
herd. It is said that one time the barefoot mem-

bers suddenly noticed they were facing a large 575
enemy war party that had concealed itself near 796
the camp. The Braves, carrying only their spears,
stood little chance in a direct encounter, so the
society leader ordered the members to resume
dancing. The performance so impressed the
enemy that they retreated.

Within these societies were usually two 575
members known as Bears. These Bears had the 554 ●
publicly accepted right to appropriate food from
someone for the use of all the members. If they [425]
saw a successful hunter returning home they
could demand a portion of his meat to be used as
a meal for the society. The Bears could be identified [292]
by their painting, clothing, and other insignias, [237]
especially a headdress made from a strip of
bear fur with two claws attached to resemble
small horns on the wearer's head. Percy Creighton [439]
bought one of these headdresses from old Gambler [435]
and sold it to Mrs. Walters for forty-five dollars.
It had belonged to the Brave Dogs Society.

Some of our older men are still members of 575
the now-inactive Brave Dogs Society, as it is
known among our division. The Piegans call the
same group the Crazy Dogs Society. Meetings of [619]
one group may be attended by members from
other divisions. They can often be recognized during [531]
our social dances, or powwows, by their membership [237]
insignias—individually painted rawhide
rattles, which they carry suspended from their [534]
wrists by fur straps. Traditionally, each member
painted his face according to the design on his [302]
rattle.

Social societies of male contemporaries are 575
still formed among our People. Today there are 178
the Red Belts, the Magpies, and the Parted-Hairs.
One group, called the Baggy Underwears, is making
an effort to take on a new name.

[p. 215-B]

them back. Our people would ride alongside of 726
them, and catching them by the feet, would 159
throw them from their horses. A Blackfoot chased one Cree, who was so thoroughly frightened that he soiled his horse's back. The man was killed, and the horse taken by the Blackfeet. Only one young Blood on our side was killed.

We now returned to our lodges. Calf Shirt, 727
father of the killed boy, waived the mourning custom. 159
He said, "Be joyful, do not mourn for my son, you have killed many enemies and captured much." So in great glee our camps were moved back to our own country.

These are the principal adventures of my life. 159
I am not in the habit of talking about them, for I
am not a boaster. Only upon a few occasions [828]
when I lost my temper have I said that I was strong. All the People know me and my doings. I have had enough war and trouble in my time and know what it is. That is why I try of late years to keep the young men quiet. They do not know what they say when they talk of war.

I was never struck by an enemy in my life, with bullet, arrow, axe, spear, or knife!

Red Crow's adventures on the warpath are 115
typical of those experienced by most of our men back in the Old Days. His are honest and realistic accounts. In all, he took part in thirty-three war adventures, which was not unusual in the Old Days; that he was never injured was quite exceptional.

It was certainly not necessary for a man to be 555
raiding continually in order to live the Old Ways. 721
Many men were satisfied to test their courage 554 ●
once or twice and then obtain their needed horses in trade. Such men were either holy men, skilled doctors, exceptional hunters, or noted craftsmen. Any of these "occupations" brought a man respect and stolen horses in exchange for his services.

It is strange that Red Crow did not mention 721
the last major battle in which the Bloods took 726

[p. 254-B]

to them as a blessing from the holy white man, as 793
priests are called in Blackfoot. Not long before his 797
death, when a relative volunteered to go for a priest, he picked up a cup and said to those with him, "In this cup is my Catholic religion." He slowly turned the cup upside down and sat it down on the table, without saying another word.

Natosina's brother, Big Snake, died around 554
1915. He was well known among all the Blackfoot 555
People for being both fearless and reckless. 156
Because his parties always returned successfully, he had a large following whenever he announced plans to leave on a raid. Experienced older men, however, seldom went with him because he was so wild. They preferred the company of more serious and conscientious men.

One man who knew old Natosina was the 114
writer James Willard Schultz. He lived with the Piegans for many years, beginning in the 1870s. He learned the Blackfoot language, went on buffalo hunts and war raids, and was known as Apikunni, or "Far-off-Scabby-Robe." He left the Piegans in 1903, after the death of his wife, but came back to visit often and wrote many fine stories about the Old Days. In the 1920s he recorded a few adventures of his Blood friends, who included Natosina and old Weasel Tail. I read Apikunni's story to Atsitsina, who had not heard it for many years. He said that most of the details in it are correct and that it is a good version of the way his dad used to relate this adventure. I will give you the story in Apikunni's words—he writes it as though old Natosina were speaking.

EAGLE PLUME

One beginning-of-summer-time, when we Ka'ina 726
were encamped on Belly River, close up to the [103]
Backbone [the Rocky Mountains, the "Backbone of the Earth"], I called upon nine men, good warriors all of them, to go with me on a raid
south; a raid upon the Crows. Before leaving, we [782]
built a sweat lodge of good size, and asked Three

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 258-A]

[p. 256-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

in front of us, were several herds of buffalo and 726
antelope. Said one of our party: "If we only had [252]
the meat of one of them, how safely we could
broil it with this smokeless bark." He pointed to [829]
the dead, dry bark of a fallen cottonwood. [372]

Said another: "The animals are all quiet;
there seems to be no enemy war party hereabout; 726
let us go out there and make a killing." 224

"No. We will take no chances; no risks whatever.
Quiet though it seems to be out there,
somewhere, hidden from us, a large enemy party
may also be hungrily looking at the herds," I said.

"We cannot travel without food. As you will
not allow us to go out there and make a killing,
just you make some of the animals come right in
here," said another, Bear Bones [Bear Shin
Bone], who was always cross, always complaining,
but a brave, successful man of many war trails.

"I will try to bring some of them in," I an- 726
swered, and had Wolf Plume hand me my medi- 224
cine-pipe roll. I did not expose the pipe. Simply 789
held the roll up to the Sky and prayed to Sun,
Thunder Bird, and Ancient Raven, to make food
come to us.

We watched the herds; particularly the one nearest us, a small herd of buffalo, all of them save one old cow, lying down and chewing again the grass with which they had filled themselves. The cow was standing with lowered head, motionless, asleep on her feet. But now she raised her head, stretched out her legs, shook herself, and started slowly walking toward us. Up rose the herd then, two or three at first, then all the others, and in single file came on behind her. And I said to the cross one: "There, Bear Bones, as
you asked so have I done with the help of my
medicine. And now you do the killing. Not with [411]
your gun, but with your silent bow and arrows."

"Yes," he answered.

"A fat one. A cow without calf, or a one-winter or two-winters one," said I.

All of my party were looking at me, thinking [554]
that I had great favor with the Above Ones; that

[p. 258-B]

my medicine was powerful. I said nothing. I was 726
not proud-feeling. Bear Bones asked us to move 224
back, to leave him alone to make his killing. We 789
went down to the shore of the river. Presently we [554]●
heard a great pounding and rattling of hoofs,
smashing of brush and dead sticks, and some of
the herd came running out to the shore below,
and turned and ran up past us and then back
through the timber to the plain, all but one, a
cow of two winters, with an arrow deep in her
side, just back of her shoulder. Right in front of
us she fell, blood streaming from her nose and
mouth, and she died. And out from the timber
came Bear Bones, who said: "Ha! There she lies. I
knew that she could not go far with my arrow in
her lungs."

So was it that, by the favor of the Above 726
Ones, we ate fat, broiled meat that morning, and
had meat for several days to come. And my com- [264]
panions were happy, eager to go on. That which I [787]
had done, my bringing the herd of buffalo to us
from the plain, was, they said, a sign that our raid
was to be successful. After we finished eating, I [782]
went apart from my companions, and, before I [276]
slept, smoked and prayed to the Above Ones, and
sacrificed to Sun a piece of tobacco from my
Thunder Pipe Roll.

Going on south, night after night, we crossed
the Yellow Mountains [Judith Mountains]
through the low gap in them, and one morning,
just before Sun appeared, arrived at Dried Meat
River [Musselshell River]. We crossed it, and
stopped in a small grove of timber. We still had [251]
meat of the buffalo that Bear Bones had killed;
thin cuttings of it, now partly dried. Wolf Plume
broiled some of it for me, and, after eating, I had
him prepare a resting-place for me, in some thick
willows a little farther down the grove, and, after
naming two of my companions to go on watch
until the middle of the day, I lay down, my sacred
pipe roll at my side, and soon slept.

I had a vision. I saw a camp of many lodges. [787]
It was night, yet I saw the lodges plainly, and

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

When they got there the door was closed and 793
blocked from inside. Bernard told his brother, 276
Edward, "Darn it, that old man is smoking again 784
and I'm cold and want to go inside." They stood
around for a few minutes and then Bernard suddenly pushed hard on the door and opened it up.
Natosina was sitting in a chair near the door, his
pipe in hand. As they came through, the pipe fell
and his head fell forward; blood trickled from the
side of his mouth. His old wife told the boys to
hurry and close the door and then to stand still.
She began to sing the song of his sacred Power [533]
and pretty soon he lifted his head, looking somewhat dazed. While the boys looked on in amaze- [755]
ment, Natosina coughed loudly, his hand held in [302]
front of his mouth. He took the hand and rubbed
it on his forehead, which became covered with
sacred yellow paint. He coughed again into his
hand and wiped it on one of his cheeks; it became
covered with sacred red paint. One more time he
did this, covering his other cheek with red paint.
Then he told the boys, "Don't walk in like that
again when you know I'm smoking. I might not
be able to come back next time."

STORIES OF WEASEL TAIL

A contemporary of Natosina was Apachsoysis, or 159
"Weasel Tail." Although he knew a great deal
about our sacred ceremonies, he was not a leader.
His fame rested on his fearless bravery. He was [554]
also noted for being something of a historian, as
well as a great comedian who specialized in tall
tales.

Weasel Tail was born in 1859. When he be- [177]
came orphaned, he wandered and ended up living
for a time among the Crow People. He was still [721]
young when he married his only wife, Hate
Woman, who went with him on several of his war [562]
parties. Like his partner, Bird Rattler, Weasel
Tail went back to Crow camps during some of his
later horse raids. During one horse raid, he was [727]
caught with Bird Rattler and imprisoned at Fort

CONTINUED ON PAGE 267-A]

[p.265-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Weasel Tail concluded this fantastic adventure by locating a Crow camp and, while his wife waited in the nearby timber, he and the other man managed to steal fourteen good horses and they all returned home safely. 721

Weasel Tail also told Apikunni that he had been on very many raids, and that he had counted one or more coups on ten of them. He said that not all of his raids were successful, but that he always came back home safely. His favorite time to go on a raid was during the winter, when there was a chance of snowfall to cover his retreating tracks. He counted his final coup around the end of the war years, along the Belly River not far from Stand Off. He met a Kutenai man on a butte by the river. The man had three horses with him. Some say he had just stolen them, others say he was coming to trade them to the Bloods. At any rate, Weasel Tail prayed before the fight and said that this would be his last killing. He was the winner of the fight, and the place is today still known as Kutenai Butte. [554] [782] [103]

In later years, Weasel Tail was a frequent participant at Sun Dance Encampments, powwows, and other gatherings of Old People. He was often called on to relate his exploits so that the ceremonies could proceed. 887

CALF SHIRT AND HIS RATTLESNAKES

Calf Shirt was one of the last of our Old People who could prove to skeptics, including white people, the Power of his own Medicine. His sacred helper was a rattlesnake, and he always carried a live one with him until his death, not long after 1900. 756 [231]

Most of the Blood Reserve is not troubled with rattlesnakes, but at the north end, near the city of Lethbridge, they are very common. At the narrow head of a long and steep box canyon there 136

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 270-B]

[p. 269-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

arouse it, and rode back home as fast as he could. 586
When Cree Man arrived at the camp, Calf Shirt 593
asked for the snake. Cree Man began to shake
and cry. He was afraid to touch the snake again 825
lest it bite his stomach. Calf Shirt told him to spit 789
some more of the plant on his hands and on the
snake's head, after which Cree Man was able to
pick up the snake. Calf Shirt put it into a white
sugar bag.

Cree Man returned to his home with his wife, but he was unable to sleep for several nights. He continued to have nightmares about rattlesnakes. Calf Shirt sent some sacred paint to him and told him to keep using rattlesnakes for his Power, now that he knew how to handle them. Cree Man just wanted to forget the whole experience.

Calf Shirt used his Rattlesnake Power to 756
doctor various ailments. One of his specialties was 842
sterilizing women. Among his doctoring articles
was a buckskin snake that was painted black and [237]
had a green glass bead attached to the head and a
small bell to the tail. He would lay this snake next [531]
to a woman's body, sing his song and give her
some kind of Medicine, and the woman would
never have children again.

Oddly enough, however, he did not have the 756
Power to doctor rattlesnake bites. One time he 752
was careless with the one that he carried with him
and it bit him. His relative, old Weasel Head, [759]
paid a good horse to a deaf old woman who was
able to doctor Calf Shirt until he was well.

The Old Man said that Calf Shirt was 756
famous everywhere, but that few people came
very near him, because they feared his snakes. He 231
always kept one in a cloth or buckskin bag inside [554]
his shirt, by his stomach. The Old Man said, "If
he came and sat down at a dance or gathering,
everyone around him would get up in a hurry and
sit somewhere else. We always wondered what he
fed his snakes."

Calf Shirt's Powers taught him to design a 756
sacred tipi. It was painted blue and had rattle- 778
532

[p.271-A]

to sing his Power song which he told them would 763
bring him back to life. Others from the camp [533]
persuaded the women to stop, for fear that Mad Calf Shirt would return even madder in the form of a grizzly bear, which was said to have been his Power.

WHITE WOLF

In his old age, White Wolf looked like a fierce 793
old warrior who had never given up his thoughts
about war trails. And until his death early in this [554]
century he was, indeed, one of the bravest warriors of the Old Days. Nevertheless, White Wolf is best remembered as a very kind and able holy man. He was Teacher to Natosina, who later became Teacher to Heavy Head, who was then Teacher to our Old Man.

White Wolf was also known by the names [551]
White Bull and One Week. The latter name was
given to him because he so often said, "Rations in [553]
one week." It was the only expression he could say in English, having learned it around the agency.

Three of old White Wolf's war adventures 532
are recorded with picture drawings on a buffalo 212
hide in the collection at the Glenbow Museum. The story of one of the adventures goes like this:

My partner was Pinukwiim. We went to- 726
gether on most of our trails. On one of these we 793
were led by Sun Calf. There were eight of us. We went to raid the Crows, approaching their camps by going from coulee to coulee, so as not to be seen on the open prairie. Some early-morning hunters from the enemy camp spotted us just as we were going into a coulee to camp for the day. We should not have been out in the open after daybreak, so close to their camp. They went back to the Crow camp and returned with more than a hundred mounted men. Meanwhile, we got busy digging a pit, because there was no place for us to escape to on foot. We used our big knives for

[p.272-A]

in to the police by his own People. The following 682
March, 1897, Charcoal was hanged for the murder of Sergeant Wilde. He was not convicted of 657
the murder of Medicine Pipe Stem, because there
was not enough evidence to prove his guilt.

HOW SPIDER GOT HIS NAME

The finest dancer in the memory of most of our 535
People was a man named Spider, who died a few 554
years back. He was not known for having much
interest in our sacred ceremonies, or for having
fancy clothes like eagle headdresses and buckskin
suits. Yet he was always perfectly groomed, kept [302]
his face and hair painted, wore pleasing clothing,
and carried an oblong mirror in one hand while
he danced (a custom among many Grass
Dancers).

Spider's favorite dance shirt was made from 535
green wool cloth. It had strips of beadwork on the [292]
arms and over the shoulders, like a buckskin shirt
but more subtle. This shirt was originally given to [431]
our uncle, Atsitsina, by a Sioux man. Atsitsina
gave the shirt to his brother, Jack Low Horn, who
later gave it to his relative, Spider. Spider was
buried in that shirt. He usually used yellow paint [302]
to cover his face and bangs, which he wore
straight-up, over his forehead, in the style of the
Crows. Mrs. Walters wrote that she saw Spider [292]
dance during the social dance at a Sun Dance
Encampment, and that he wore a "buckskin outfit colored green, with wide bands of lavender and
green beadwork and matching moccasins. . . . In
one hand he held an oblong mirror about fifteen
inches long, with a hand loop that also had green
and lavender colors on it. With his mirror held
stiffly downward and his other hand on his hip,
he drifted around that circle like a bit of down.
His feet seemed scarcely to touch the ground.
Even the Indians burst into applause." At that
time, in the early 1930s, he was sixty-five years
old. His other name was Long Hair; he never cut [553]
his hair.

[p. 282-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

one. We pursued the enemy and shot him in fair 983
fight at close quarters. He fell off when he was [721]
wounded. I jumped off my horse and ran to him, killing him and scalping him. We halved the 983
scalp and that is why it is rather thin. I took the 727
pinto and we started for home. We got home safely without the enemy taking after us. When [431]
we got home my father told me, "Son, give that pinto to the old man who gave you his blessing. It is due to the mascot that you have been able to get that pinto." I gave him the pinto but was very sad for I wanted the pinto for myself. But my father comforted me and said, "Son, never mind. The pinto is just going to be one of many horses you will bring home," and he was right.

These were his own words.—Ethel Tailfeathers.

THE DUNCAN SHADE GANG

Our Old People continued to prove their bravery 721
and skill by going on horse raids well into the 178
present century. Some went for adventure, others went for personal or material gain. But most mature men around the turn of the century did it simply for sport at least once.

For some years there was a loosely organized group of horse raiders who went mostly to the east to raid the white ranchers in the prairie country near the Cypress Hills. Sometimes they raided nearby Crees and sometimes they went across the
line and raided ranchers in the States. They often [431]
gave away their captured horses to relatives, or
sold them on the black market; they seldom kept [438]
the horses for themselves. The recognized leader of this "gang" was a man named Duncan Shade, better known as Dog-in-the-Shade. Among his regular followers were Stephen Fox and his brother, Crazy Crow, Hungry Crow, Percy Creighton, Shot-on-Both-Sides, Black Rabbit, and Charley Goodrider.

Because of their generosity, their practice of 554 ●
an old tradition, and the fact that they never be- [556]

[p. 303-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Charlie Goodrider dressed in his finest, as he often was.

came involved in any shooting, the Duncan Shade Gang was respected by the People of the reserve. But it happened that they were eventually traced back to the Blood Reserve when one of the gang was discovered selling a stolen horse with a recognized brand. The Mounted Police brought several of the white ranchers to the reserve to look over the horse herds; they found many horses they'd been missing. A few of the gang were actually captured by the Mounties.

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[556]
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[p.303-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

292 Give-away in honor of the late Big Wolf, in 1939. The poster shows Big Wolf and illustrates his coups. The upside-down
532 U's represent horses he stole, while the semi-circles with wiggly tails tell the number of times he acted as scout for war
212 parties—a duty of honor. Two fine horses were given to friends and visitors, during the social dance at the Sun Dance
●[554] Camp, in addition to the blankets seen in the photo and other goods and food items. Jack and Jim Low Horn are in the
[431] foreground. Big Wolf was Jim's father-in-law.

[P. 322-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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[575] Dog Child sings an honoring song for his son, George First Rider, while he leads a saddle horse and a team around the
[533] camp circle to show what is to be paid for his son's membership in the Horns Society. (Arnold Lupson)
[554]
[432] Construction of the sacred sweat lodge for the Medicine Lodge ceremony. One hundred willows are used for its frame. Dog Child is inside the circle, on the right.

346
796

[p. 325]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

a church. Every morning and every night he made 869
incense. He asked for life in his prayers. He prayed [782]
for all of us. . . . At the beginning of summer he
would be really happy when he first heard thunder. [778]
That is when he opened his Bundle. He
would butcher a cow and use it to feed those who [796]
came to the ceremony. We had a good life because [574]
our home was very holy.

Jim Shot-on-Both-Sides is the present head chief of the Blood People. The Bloods have had five chiefs from his family over the past hundred years. His father, old Shot-on-Both-Sides, was the son of Crop-Eared Wolf, who was the adopted son of old Red Crow, who was the nephew of Pinukwiim. All of them were head chiefs. 622

Except for one two-year term, Jim Shot-on-Both-Sides has been head chief since the death of his father in 1958.

The Old People still respect me the same 622
way they respected my father. I don't know about 554 ●
the young people. For instance, when we went
down to Ottawa, they put me first in everything.
Before every meeting began I was asked to pray. [782]
We had meetings at different places and I prayed
at each of them. I prayed so that we would get
what we went for.

[p.332-B]

highway. Their truck was quite damaged, al- 593
though they escaped injury. The driver of a pass- 778
ing auto offered them a ride. They took most of 439
their equipment and crammed it into the cab, to
lock it up.

The next day when they returned to their truck, they discovered that someone had stolen everything. This made Frank quite upset. So she asked him what was inside the old rawhide container. He told her that it had contained the flag and other sacred articles for the ancient Mountain Sheep Painted Tipi, and that he was going to be paid well for it in Great Falls. That made her quite upset and she told him so and got Frank to agree not to sell any more sacred things.

Apparently, Frank and his previous wife had 439
made quite a business of selling Indian things. When she first married him, one wall of his house was covered with shelves containing all sorts of craft materials—beads, shells, hides, dyed porcupine quills, and even sacred paints. His first wife was an excellent craftsman who could reproduce most any item and make it look quite old.

Mrs. Red Crow gave us the woman's collection of odd-shaped stones from which Iniskims could be made. She also showed us a bag of shells, some of them already strung up and painted as Medicine Pipe Owners' necklaces. She said that Frank told her he used to help Robert Wilson with his picture-taking during the Sun Dance En-
campments. Later he admitted that he sold two [432]
Bundles that had been transferred to him—a Sol-
dier's Pipe that he got from a man called Small [778]
Buttocks, and a Crow Water Bundle (which was somewhat similar to our own Beaver Bundles) that he got from Gros Ventre Boy.

In his old age, Frank Red Crow joined the 554 ●
sacred ceremonies in a sincere way and had the
respect of his People. He adopted his little grand- [158]
daughter Agnes as his minipoka, and taught her about some of the Old Ways.

Ponah once asked us if we ever wondered 778
why the shawl covering our sacred Pipe Bundle

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

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Our Old Man and me.

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sponsor of the ceremony, who sits very quietly 796
and humbly listens to everyone's prayers which
are for the benefit of himself, his family, and the [576]
one for whom he vowed the ceremony. We call
this "sitting holy." If the sponsor of the ceremony
is a participant who sings his songs, then he asks
some relative to take his place next to the leader,
for it is not proper to sing while sitting holy.

Atsitsina arrived and the Old Man directed
him to a place on his right. Atsitsina helped start
the second part of the ceremony by reciting four
spiritual offerings made in the past. The partici- [555]
pant with the bravest war coup would sit at the
far left and recount four brave deeds, when that
part of the ceremony was reached. My seat was [554]
next to the Old Man on his left. As a Medicine
Pipe Owner, this was my seat of honor. [576]

The Old Man inspected the altar and ap-
proved it. He arranged before him the sacred bags [778]
from his paint outfit; one contained the black
paint, another contained the sacred red earth, and [237]
a third contained pieces of kidney fat.

[p. 352-A]

material.[1] In the center, is another forked tree trunk much higher than 796
the other (this we shall call the sun pole) connected with each of the stringers 346
by a rafter. Green boughs are placed thickly against the outside of the
lodge. On the inside, at the rear, is a booth screened and roofed with [824]
boughs. The material is cottonwood. That other woods were occasionally
used, is attested by the fact that a locality is known as "the place of
sweet pine dancing lodge."

Some informants claim that in former years each band was required [178]
to furnish two rafters, a post, a rail, and their proportionate amount of
boughs. Two rafters were used instead of one as now, each band furnishing [621]
the section opposite their place in the circle. The contradiction
between the number of bands and the size of the dancing lodge seems not
to have troubled our informants. Now, the young men go out during
the early part of the fourth day to cut the poles and boughs. This is
done without ceremony. A crier usually rides around the camp circle [203]
reminding the various bands of their duty. Formerly, the young women
went out on horseback to drag in the poles and brush. On this occasion, 178
they dressed in the best costumes and used the finest horse trappings 796
obtainable. The men cut the poles and brush, hitching them to the drag 346
ropes with their own hands. As the procession galloped toward the camp
circle, the men rode behind, shooting and yelling. In recent years, the
men bring the material in on wagons without demonstration.

Men of some prominence are selected to dig the holes for the posts. 796
The posts are erected and the stringers put in place, excepting one on the 346
west side nearly opposite the entrance. The rafters are leaned against [554] ●
the stringers, ready to be pushed in place and the green boughs piled up
at convenient places near by.

The cutting of the sun pole is attended with some ceremony. Some 796
informants claim that formerly this was to be carried out by the medicine 346
woman's band; others that one of the men's societies was called upon for 313
this service. [178]

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[1] Obviously, this would make the dancing lodge very large. In reply to this objection [575]
it was said that they were large; that it was necessary to select as a site places where very
long rafter poles could be cut; that formerly societies and others performed evolutions
within on horseback. The late Little-plume is credited with having introduced the present
custom of reciting deeds, requiring horses, outside the dancing lodge. It may be of interest [171]
to note that the Arapaho also made very large sun dance shelters.

In 1908 Mr. Duvall measured the dancing lodge. The sun pole stood sixteen feet from the ground to the fork. The posts were eight feet and approximately sixteen feet apart. The diameter of the whole was fifty-two feet. The fireplace was east of the sun pole six feet and was four feet by two feet and five inches deep. The booth for medicinemen was five feet eight inches wide by seven feet six inches deep. The two holes were about a foot forward from the sod walls, eight inches across and six inches deep. The man who has been marking out the site for the lodge during the last few years, begins by selecting the place for the sun pole and stepping off seven paces as the radius.

796 this service. In any event, they go out as a war party and locate a suitable
346 tree. A man with a war record, preferably one having struck an enemy
313 with an ax, comes forward, takes an ax, paints the blade as he recounts
● [554] some event in which he killed an enemy, and then strikes the tree. Four
such deeds must be told before the tree can be felled. Then one or two
men cut the tree as the others stand around. As the tree begins to fall
all give the war cry and shoot at its top, then rush up, and tearing off
branches, wave them in the air as if they were trophies from an enemy.
Indeed, the whole proceeding, from start to finish, is a mimic attack on an
enemy.

The pole is cut to approximate form and taken to the site of the dancing
[493] lodge. One end is placed on a travois (in recent times on a wagon), while
[178] the riders assist with their ropes, their horses massed around the travois
horse.

796 The hole for the sun pole is dug without ceremony by relatives of the
346 medicine woman. When it is in place, they tie a bundle of green boughs
in the fork,[1] making everything ready for the raising in the evening. The
sun pole now lies on the ground with the butt over the hole and the forked
end supported by a piece of timber. The fork points to the west. It
[531] seems that formerly the pole was painted. Just below the fork it was
circled by two black bands and two red ones beneath these.

CUTTING THE THONGS.

[237] A fresh cowskin (formerly two buffalo hides) is provided that thongs may be cut for binding the rafters to the stringers and the objects placed on the sun pole. There seems to have been no hunting ceremony for providing this hide and there is now no symbolic hunting. After the medicine woman is in the shelter, the ceremony of cutting the thongs takes place. If no one volunteers, men are "caught." The men who cut the thongs last year may do the "catching" or engage representatives to do it. Formerly, this function was exercised by old warriors who had captured enemies alive. The "catchers" go quietly about the camp looking for eligibles. While pretending to pass one by without notice, they suddenly lay hold of him. The victim may pull back, but is not allowed to resort to other means

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[824] [1] The bundle of boughs is neither spoken of as the thunderbird's nest nor given a name of any kind: though some old men seemed to know that other tribes so designated it. We made diligent inquiry on this point and feel that the above statement is correct. Reference to published photographs will show that the brush is merely gathered into a bundle and not made into the form of a nest as in case of the Crow.

SOCIETY DANCES.

575 In former times, the succeeding days were apportioned to the men's
554 societies (the ikunukats) in the order of their rank, beginning at the lowest.[1]
796 There seems to have been no fixed allotment of time to each, only the order
of succession being adhered to. The ceremonies were determined chiefly
[555] by the respective society rituals, though the recounting of deeds in war
was given great prominence. As a rule, each society closed its ceremonies
(782) by offering parts of its regalia, etc., to the sun, a custom still observed
by the Blood (See vol. 11, this series, fig. 19, p. 411). After the highest
society had completed its function, the leading men of the tribe held a
kind of a war dance in which coups were recounted. In this dance, again,
rattles were beaten upon a rawhide. The organizations or persons having
charge of the day's ceremonies must furnish the feast and all necessaries.
[793) The medicine woman and her husband usually repair to the dancing lodge
each day. The man usually takes his pipe and tobacco and furnishes the
smoking for the guests who sit around. His wife wears the buckskin dress
and elk robe, but not the natoas. They sit on the north or right side of
the booth and merely are spectators. This closes the ceremonies and camp
is broken.

THE TORTURE CEREMONY.

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796 The torture feature, especially prominent in the ceremonies of the
304 Mandan, Hidatsa, and Dakota, was formerly given a place among the dancing
[171] lodge ceremonies of the Blackfoot. The information we have seems
to indicate that this ceremony had not become thoroughly adjusted to
[648] its place in this series at the time of its prohibition by the United States
and Canadian governments. The claim is made by some of the Piegan
[177] that it was borrowed from the Arapaho and was not looked upon with much
favor. As one man expressed it, "None of those taking the cutting lived
to reach old age." It was said that a few Blackfoot warriors once visited
[177] the Arapaho at the time of their sun dance where they were put through
[424] the cutting ceremony. According to the Blackfoot mode of thought, this
means that the medicine rites (and rights) were transferred to them. When
they returned, they induced others to take the cutting, to whom, of course,
the rites were transferred. Whether this historical statement is accurate
or mythical, we have no means of knowing, but we are inclined to give

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[1] This series, Vol. 11, 365–474.

Buffalo Robes

In the daytime, save for the shouting of children at play, the great 574
camp was quiet; but with the setting of the sun it livened up. Men 517
began shouting invitations to their friends to come and feast and
smoke with them. Members of the various branches of the *Ikuni* [575]
Kahtsi (All Friends warriors society) got together to sing and dance. [533]
At once in a hundred lodges there were various social gatherings— [535]
gatherings of old men, young men, old women, young women, chiefs
and leading warriors, Sun priests. Evening always found me joining
one or another of the lodge-fire circles to listen to the talk, and so
I heard great tales of war, of hunting, and of the wondrous doings
of the gods. In greatest demand were the tellers of humorous stories; [522]
they had so many invitations to social gatherings that they were
rarely found at home. And theirs was clean humor; one never heard [831]
any obscenity in the lodges of the Blackfoot tribes.

What George Catlin had to say of the Mandans he visited in 1832 574
—that they were kindly, courteous hosts—was equally true of the
old-time Blackfeet. A man giving a feast-and-smoke stepped outside [203]
his lodge and shouted his invitations. One by one the guests came
and were seated according to their standing in the tribe. The more 554
prominent a man was—such as chief, Sun priest, warrior—the nearer
he would be placed to the host. When all were seated, the women of [262]
the lodge placed dishes of food, the choicest that they had—boiled [276]
or broiled buffalo tongues, buffalo dorsal ribs, berry pemmican,
stewed berries—before them, and the host, not eating, began cutting
finely a mixture of tobacco for the smokes. At the same time he 521
started the talk about something of general interest, or, perhaps, 574
called on a certain one to tell of some thrilling experience he had
had in hunting or at war; or, as often happened, a Sun priest would
talk about the gods or relate a powerful vision that the gods had
given him in the night. As the talk went on, all ate slowly, moderately,
and in most pleasant manner, of their portions. Contrary to [261]
the general opinion of them, the Indians, anyhow the Blackfeet, were
not gorgers of great quantities of food.

When all had finished eating, the host passed the filled big-stone 276
bowl with its long stem to someone of the circle to light from the 793
fire—always a Sun priest if one were present—and he, touching a coal 574

796 782 us, men, women, children, give long good life, good health; help us
714 to overcome our enemies who are ever seeking to destroy us."

714 Some women were heating a number of stones in a little fire, and
281 near it a small pit had been dug in the ground. The women rolled
part of the stones into it, covered them with a thin layer of loose
[793] earth. Then Black Otter, with the help of three war-clothed friends,
laid the circular piece of hide over the pit and, inserting pegs into
slits that had been cut at regular intervals along its edge, fastened
it to the ground.

[555] As each man drove in a peg, he counted coup, told of some fight
with the enemy in which he had been the victor. Tightly the hide had
been fastened down; it began to shrink from the heat under it until
it pulled the pegs over. As fast as they loosened, the three men helpers
[793] drove them in again; Black Otter carefully supervised the work,
often feeling of the hide to make sure that it did not get hot enough
to burn, and calling for more hot rocks as they were needed.

In about an hour the hide had shrunk to about half its original
[793] diameter, and was at least an inch thick. During that time Black
[782] Otter had frequently prayed, and with his helpers had sung a num-
[533] ber of sacred songs. Finally Fox Eyes took the hide home and in due
714 time made a beautiful, tail-feathers-trimmed shield of it. Lastly he
made a war bonnet of the remaining tail feathers, and was then ready
[721] for war. A few days later he did set out with a small party to raid
the horse herds of the Assiniboines, and I returned to the trading
727 post. A month or more later Fox Eyes came to visit me, came sing-
● 554 ing a war song, riding a fine horse and leading another. Tossing its
[533] rope to me, he said: "*Apikuni,* I give to you this Cutthroat (Assini-
boine) horse. Three of them I took. One Cutthroat I killed and this
--see it--many-shots gun I took from him. *Apikuni,* Sun is good to
[787] me. My sacred helper, that water animal of my vision, is powerful.
[825] *Apikuni,* I am a happy man. I am soon to have a lodge of my own."

"Good! Have three wives, four wives. While you are about it, be a real chief," I said.

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reputation or prowess of its leader. By and large, the chiefs are the ones who are remembered as important 19th-century figures; even if someone gained a reputation as a warrior or shaman, he was more likely to be recalled if this ability had enabled him to become a chief of his band.

While hereditary leadership was not mandatory among the Bloods, usually a son, brother, or son-in-law took control upon the death of a chief. However, because of the flexibility of the band system, the selection was made by the band members themselves, either by consensus or through a direct vote. If no consensus could be reached, a candidate might state that he was moving camp the following morning; this would force members of the band to decide whether to go with him or to remain with one of the other aspirants. Often two contenders might be brothers, such as occurred in 1870 when Black Bear, leader of the Fish Eaters, died in a smallpox epidemic, and both Red Crow and his brother Sheep Old Man aspired to the position. When Red Crow observed that public opinion was favoring him, he announced he was moving, and those who were undecided finally chose to follow the majority and go with him.

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Yet a family relationship was not the only criterion in selecting a new chief. As George Simpson noted in 1841: "The office of Chief is often hereditary, but his birth alone, uncombined with talent or bravery, does not secure any consideration in the tribe, & the son of the most powerful Chief would, if unendowed with these qualities, sink into perfect insignificance & contempt, being what the Indians very emphatically term 'pitiful'." Simpson further noted that the chieftainship was not a lifetime appointment, but was valid only as long as the man was capable of leading the band. "When the first symptoms of old age creep upon him, he very wisely abdicates (to avoid being dismissed more brusquely) in favor of his son or some other successor."

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Such a resignation was noted by a fur trader in 1794 (M'Gillivray, 1934:50), when The Swan, a leading Blackfoot chief, was "worn out with age and disability" and was "forced to resign his

[p. 96-8]

place." The leadership was passed on to an ap- 622
parent nonrelative, Gross Blanc, whom the trader 175
described as "a man of unfounded ambition and
ferocity."

Informants knew of a number of instances where the chief resigned to pass the title along to a younger man, usually a son or brother. Two Suns turned the leadership of the Fish Eaters over to his son, Seen From Afar, in the 1840s; Fish Child gave up his leadership of the Many Fat Horses in favor of his brother, Many Spotted Horses in the 1850s; and Blackfoot Old Woman became chief of the Black Elks while its former leader, Eagle Head, was still alive.

One of the obvious reasons why the leadership 622
often passed down to a relative was that the
majority of those who were prominent in the
band were closely related. The eldest son or 520
younger brother was privy to the daily routines
and responsibilities of leadership and had the opportunity to become personally acquainted with the elite within the tribe, or the nation, thus placing him in a favored position for wielding political influence.

There is no tradition of violence ever erupting 622
because of a dispute over leadership. Even during 578
the perilous half decade from 1869 to 1874, when 273
whiskey had unrestricted sale in Blackfoot coun-
try and intratribal conflicts were common, lead- 175
ership controversy was never a factor. This can
be attributed to the democratic nature of the 622
band system; no chief had dictatorial control over his followers, even in times of war. If a Blood was dissatisfied with the leadership being provided, he could simply move to another band or, if he had his own following, create his own band. A dictatorial chief would soon discover that he had no following.

The successful chief usually possessed a number 622
of positive qualities. He was generous, a good 554
provider, and was often wealthy. He had a good 556
war record and was frequently a ceremonialist, orator, and diplomat. Not every leader was gifted with all of these attributes, but certain men were remembered because they may have excelled in one or more. Medicine Calf, leader of the Many

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Tumors, was a noted orator; Calf Shirt of the Lone Fighters was a warrior of repute; Many Spotted Horses of the Many Fat Horses band was extremely wealthy; and White Calf of the Marrows was a leading ceremonialist and orator.

Seen From Afar, the Fish Eaters' leader, was considered to be particularly effective, drawing to his band a large number of nonrelatives because of his wealth, war record, and political influence. As one informant (Creighton, 1954, pers. comm.) described him:

> Seen From Afar was a generous man. When the Bloods went out hunting buffalo, some of the men would not have the proper horses, maybe just a couple of old pack animals. They would go to Seen From Afar and say: "May I use one of your horses to hunt buffalo?" And Seen From Afar would answer, "Sure, take that one over there." When the man came back after the hunt he would take the horse and plenty of meat to Seen From Afar's lodge, but instead of accepting the meat, the chief would say, "Keep it. I have enough of my own. And use my horse whenever you need it to go hunting." When he went to war, Seen From Afar would go on raid after raid. Instead of returning to his home camp after making a successful raid, he would send some young boys back with the captured horses and give them to his wives to put in his herd.

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The Bloods did not have a head chief of the tribe, per se, which was always confusing to White traders and travellers. Just as the democratic system worked in selecting a band chief, so did the overall leadership of a mixed camp, or of the entire tribe, vary according to the circumstances.

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If the Bloods went into a winter camp, with a number of bands strung out along a river valley, one leader among them was probably recognized above the others for his influence, tact, or diplomacy. It became his unspoken responsibility to send out criers to call council meetings as often as was required for the good government of the camp. The men smoked, drank tea, and discussed matters in an informal way, usually resolving any problem by consensus rather than by decree. If the matter could not be resolved, the leading chief would weigh the political mood of the meeting and either make a firm decision or put the matter in abeyance. If any chief did not agree with the decision, he was free to move his camp.

[p. 97-8]

27: Dempsey H-4,5 (no date) 1982
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

During the course of the winter, should the 622
Bloods be joined by several other bands, among 623
which was a chief with more influence than the
one presiding, the new arrival would assume lead-
ership of the council. These arrangements were 622
usually informal and without rancor for, not sur- [602]
prisingly, many of the chiefs as part of the tribal
elite were related through marriage. If a chief was [571]
jealous of his position, he would simply avoid
camping with anyone to whom he might be 622
obliged to take a secondary role. 578

554 There were, of course, instances when two leading chiefs might clash. Among the Blackfeet, Crowfoot superseded the elder Old Sun as the leading chief of the tribe and at a council meeting the decision was made that the two men would travel together to hunt buffalo after the Sun Dance. However, Old Sun decided to leave before the end of the ceremonies and was leading his wife's travois from the camp when Crowfoot tried to detain him forcibly by shooting at the horse. Old Sun, however, defied Crowfoot and left (Dempsey, 1972:68–69).

Among the Bloods, the political chiefs in rank- 622
ing order of importance immediately prior to the 175
1877 treaty with the Canadian government were Red Crow, Father Of Many Children, Medicine Calf, and Many Spotted Horses. Opinions of informants varied according to their own band affiliations, but all agreed on the top four leaders.

When camped, whether as a single band or the 622
whole tribe, the political chief had control over 701
the warrior societies. To them he designated the responsibility for guarding the camp, controlling the buffalo hunts, maintaining internal order, and protecting the group while on the trail.

Once instructed, the warrior societies had au- 701
thoritarian control within prescribed limits, and 625
even the band chiefs were not above their com-
mands. For example, once when the Piegans were [622]
hunting, a herd was sighted and instructions were given that no one was to go hunting until the following day. This was to give everyone a chance to prepare his horses and gear. A short time later, a warrior society patrol came across the leader of the Lone Fighters band with a dead buffalo. He

a grandmother, aunt, or older sister "because a stepfather might not 855
treat him right." 155

To some degree the extended family structure, the close camp liv- [586]
ing, and the satisfactions found in agemates (the age grades were the [587]
strongest expression of solidarity in Blood society) cushioned the threat. [182]
But, however viewed, the emotional and even at times physical support
that a child could expect from his parents or any other adult was limited
indeed.

And the supernaturals were hardly more reliable—at least not 776
those to whom one might appeal for personal aid. When a young man 787
went out alone at night to some far-off place to seek a guardian spirit— 155
in almost all instances, a male being, Old Man Sun, Morning-star, Rock
Man or some animal—he did not feel that "strong" medicine would be
his if only he followed a prescribed ritual, as was the case in the
pueblos of the Southwest. Instead, the Blood youth appealed for "pity."
And the supernaturals, like his nearest of kin, were unpredictable.
True, if the quest succeeded, prestige would be enhanced, and after [555]
some years, material advantage also. But many a supplicant, even after
repeated effort, failed to get a "vision" and the power that depended
on it.

In this insecure and competitive setting, the institution of "the 858
favorite" emerged, not as an expression of fatherly love but, as the 556
Blackfoot word, *minipoka*, "child of plenty," makes explicit, first and 554
essentially as a way of demonstrating wealth—a way no different from 155
the taking of a second, third, or fourth wife, the owning of expensive
pipes or bundles, the possession of a tipi made of eighteen or twenty
skins.

There was only one accepted criterion for having a "favorite"—enough wealth to make continual validations in his name. Thus neither the number of the child nor its sex was a consideration, but while a girl could be a *minipoka*, more often it was a boy who was so honored. And the rich man had as many favorites as he could afford. Some said they wanted to treat their children alike, some that they wanted to show how rich they were.

The process began at birth. The favorite was placed on a weasel or
otter skin—the poor man's child slept in a buckskin bag. The favorite
was "initiated" to many ceremonial privileges—protective paintings,
forelocks, charms, pipes, partnerships in a society like the Horns while
he was still in his teens. Give-aways were held in his name, and any gift [431]
made to him was quickly repaid and usually with interest.

The favorite was fed first and with the choicest morsels. He was

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

held in his father's arms long after such attention was necessary. And 858
when he joined other children in the play camp, he was not the "husband" 556
of some willing little girl, as was a less protected youngster. His 554
sister remained his watchful "mother." In the main, his close com- 155
panions were *minipoka* like himself, an arrangement that not only
fostered a blatant élitism, but also protected the "privileged" from [857]
being ganged up on by less favored children.

Nor was the "child of plenty" permitted to visit around and stay
out overnight as other boys did. Nor could he attend the socially convivial
"tea dances" along with other young blades. But when his father
went on a trip, the *minipoka* was, whenever possible, the companion
of his choice. It goes without saying that the favorite wore fine clothes,
rode good horses with beautiful trappings, married with ostentatious
display. Moreover, as he grew to manhood, he was spared the onerous
participation in the hunt and the dangers of the warpath. He trusted to
his father's wealth to bring him positions of respect. And this trust was
not misplaced. Among the Blackfoot, "great deeds in social and cere- [622]
monial life would alone elevate one to the status of headman."[22]

True, the favorite was expected to be "generous" to all and sundry. More often, however, his training made him lazy and parasitical, readier to exploit the labor of others than to add to their support.

Originally a means for validating a father's wealth, the institution [593]
of the favorite child had secondary consequences—among them, the re- [866]
inforcement of sibling rivalry, the encouragement of dependency in a
society where self-reliance was a major objective, and the forging of
strong affectional bonds between a father and his child, most usually
between a father and his son. And it is this last that has particular importance
for the way in which the father image is revealed in every-day
life.

Being a favorite meant submission to certain restrictions—less freedom
of movement, less participation in some of the more adventurous
or romantic aspects of Blood society; and, at times, this was resented.
But we have no record of any Blood who rejected the substantial attentions
and advantages offered by favoritism. For the *minipoka,* the [593]
father became the "giver" *par excellence,* the only reliable "giver,"
since their statuses were so inextricably linked.[23]

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[22] Clark Wissler, "The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians," p. 23.

[23] In the reserve period, the government was actually more "reliable." But [178]
favoritism continued and with it patterns of an earlier time that still had relevance. [171]
In fact, those Blood who had no horses, and so could not make the traditional invest-
ments in ceremonial paraphernalia and society memberships, etc., but who were [657]
otherwise successful, had favorites "the American Way"—that is, they dressed their
children well and showered them with expensive gifts.

But whether one was on the giving or receiving end, the relationship 858
between a father and his *minipoka* became an exceptionally warm 556
and satisfying one. Many of the father's gestures (his special and fine 554
gifts to his favorite, his solicitude for the latter's comfort, and his eagerness 155
for his companionship) were understood as demonstrations of love; 593
and the favorite's unwillingness to be separated for any long period of time from his indulgent parent—and this even after he married—indicated the depth of his filial affection. Other fathers might be "tricksters," might abandon wife and child, but a *minipoka's* father could be relied upon to fight for the possession of his favorite son, no matter where he intended going or with whom.

To be a *minipoka* then, was highly attractive, materially and emotionally; for besides the direct benefits of wealth and position, the "child of plenty" enjoyed a continuing love and devotion in a very insecure world. Those less privileged found consolation in less rewarding [154]
substitutions and subterfuges, some parent-initiated, some inspired by their own needs. Proudly they might mention an otter skin on which they had lain at birth, a weasel-tail suit given them by a loving father, a beaded bag which held their umbilical cord; or they might recall how as a child they had played with the "real" favorites, or how a father's early death had cut short their "honorings," or alone had prevented them from becoming *minipoka*. But however gratifying such memories were to the individuals who evoked them, they never brought community recognition. Only when the spending was great and continual was a child considered a "true" *minipoka* by the Blood. Only then could he be assured of position and prestige.

Equally significant was the manner in which favoritism was extended. 593
Understandably, this process was more outspoken and probably 155
went further in families which were actually supporting a "child of [578]
plenty," for it was here that rivalrous feelings were particularly stimulated. But even in more ordinary families, a child thought of himself as *someone's* favorite, if not his father's, then a grandfather's or grandmother's, or aunt's, or even an own mother's, although this was rare.[34] In any case, the same comfort and support was expected from these different relatives as the "true" favorite received from his father. In some

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[34] In a situation where the father was increasingly invoked as "good," numerous [562]
customs and conceptions fostered the "bad" mother image. The mother might "throw away" a newborn infant. She might abandon husband and child for reasons of lust. Her blood polluted (she was isolated at childbirth and could not approach a sick person, tend ceremonial paraphernalia, or be present "when medicine was at work" if she was menstruating). She might be "manly hearted," taking the initiative particularly in matters of sex. She was the instrument through whom sorcery power was attained. And finally she was the disciplinarian in the home.

families these relationships were taken very seriously. In all, no matter 593
how limited the material benefits, they gave an added security to chil- 155
dren whose sense of belonging was often shaken.

But such extensions did not alter the traditional basis of favoritism. 858
It was the father who, almost always established a *minipoka*, and it was 593
the father who remained the symbol of the "giver." To say, "He was 155
like a father to me," not only implied that the individual referred to had something to offer, but that the speaker had benefited from his generosity and love. That a "true" *minipoka* might see his father as "giver" is quite understandable. But others who had enjoyed little, if
any, of the favorite's privileges built a similar image. Unpleasant treat- [154]
ment at the hands of a father or father substitute (frequently an older brother-in-law) was recalled with little display of hostility or repressed altogether.

A man whose father had "walked out on the family" would tell with 154
obvious pleasure of the latter's kindness to him during a short visit 571
years afterwards; or, a man who was "raised" by his grandmother and [593]
shunted about from place to place, would say of the various heads of the households he had stayed in, "They all treated me like a son," although *none of them, not even* those who had "special power," conspicuously demonstrated their affection for him; or a man who had donned women's clothes and attempted suicide because his *minipoka* brother-in-law was the accepted family head, would speak most enthusiastically of the latter's "goodness" to him.

Thus it is clear that as more wealth accumulated—and this holds 556
for the nonnative as well as for the native forms—a son's status, privi- 554 ●
lege and prestige was tied more and more to his father's; and more and [178]
more, a son felt impelled to insist that his father was outstandingly [593]
good and generous. For the *minipoka* the gap between fact and profession may not have been too great. For those who wanted to keep up with the Joneses—the less privileged and the little-privileged, and these
were the overwhelming majority—it must have been wide indeed. Under 538
these circumstances, the trickster tales undoubtedly fulfilled an im- 773
portant function: in a society where the institutions encouraged an [182]
idealization of the father, they offered a vigorous and uncensored re- [154]
lease for the son's repressed feelings of aggression. [578]

So interpreted, the differently weighted father images evoked in [121]
Blood mythology and in daily living generally become understandable. Equally understandable is the increased popularity of the trickster tales.

30: Kehoe E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Cree NG4

THE GIVEAWAY CEREMONY OF BLACKFOOT AND PLAINS CREE

by
Alice B. Kehoe

ABSTRACT

The modern giveaway of the Blackfoot and Plains Cree is described and analyzed. It is a twentieth-century development of formal ritual from a more diffuse nineteenth-century social bonding practice. Today it serves to announce Indian ethnic affiliation, social networks, and status ranking.

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Giveaways are a frequent component of Northern Plains Indian group activities today. Ostensibly they are held to honor persons in a traditional indigenous manner. Upon examination, the modern Northern Plains giveaway appears to be a twentieth-century transformation of a traditional value code, used to place individuals in the politico-economic alignments available in the segment of American society including Plains Indian reservations. Its roots are in the nineteenth century, its flowering a response to forces affecting Indians now.

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Description

The occasion for a giveaway ("giving donations" in Plains Cree gatherings) is entrance into a new status by a person affiliated with an Indian group. The ritual is not a *rite de passage*, but the public announcement and validation of new status. Giveaways are increasingly common among a large number of Indian groups, but the description and analysis I present here are derived from fieldwork with Blackfoot and Plains Cree.

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The form of the Northern Plains Blackfoot or Plains Cree giveaway is simple. At a public

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[P17-A]

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gathering, almost always convened for another purpose such as powwow dancing, an announcement is made that a giveaway will be held "for So-and-So." The family of the honored person parades around the center of the arena, using the standard Plains dance step, while a Plains style honoring song (a recognized type) is drummed and sung. The honored person, if present, will parade in the front rank; if he or she is absent, ill or deceased, his photograph will be carried by someone in the front rank. When the honoring song is concluded, gifts piled into old quilts, bedspreads or cartons are carried into the center of the arena or a roped-off section at its side. The bulk of the gifts is blankets and other bedding. Assistants, often powwow officials, help the family distribute the gifts to individuals or categories of persons ("visitors from other tribes") determined in advance by the family. The giveaway usually fades to an end, the next activity of the gathering beginning as the last few gifts are taken.

Reasons for holding a giveaway range around the expectation that a change in an Indian's social position will be formally communicated to the active members of his or her band. A child's first explicit participation in ritual, including his first costumed powwow dancing, is marked by a small giveaway. Young people's moves into adult responsibilities — marriage, graduation from school, or return from military service — call for giveaways by their families. Unusual achievements bringing increased prestige, such as winning awards or notable positions, will be recognized by giveaways. Finally, death is memorialized by giveaways.

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[P. 17-B]

30: Kehoe E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Cree NG4

will be recognized by giveaways. Finally, death is memorialized by giveaways. 000

Representative giveaways observed between 1972 and 1975 in Montana, Alberta and Saskatchewan are described below: B C 101

I. Giveaway for the late S— A— (South Piegan, Blackfeet Reservation), a young man known as an excellent Indian dancer. The giveaway was held at the annual tribal powwow. B 431 554 796

2:25 p.m. Honoring dance for the late S— A— announced by the master of ceremonies over the loudspeaker at the powwow arena.

2:35 The Young Grey Horse Society drum comes into the arena. (About half-a-dozen singer-drummers make up a "drum." This one is a group of Reservation youths trained by an older man in their community.) The announcer describes A— as a noted dancer. Mrs. A—, her two children, and the announcer's young daughter (a promising dancer) slowly circle the center of the arena while the Young Grey Horses sing an honoring song. Mrs. A— carries a man's fancy dance bustle and her son carries a framed color photograph of A—. As the four begin a second circling of the arena, several girls wearing shawls (traditional women's finery for the Northern Plains reservation) go into the arena and follow the family. When the second circling is finished, the paraders retire and other women bring out the gifts, piled into quilts. B [291] [171]

2:45 The announcer asks visitors from other tribes to please stand so that gifts can be given to them. Two elderly men active in ceremonials and traditional affairs go about the arena distributing to individuals the blankets handed them by the women of the A— family. The men are instructed by these women who is to receive each gift.

2:50 The S— A— giveaway is completed.

II. Giveaway for a tribal councilman, W— B— (South Piegan, Blackfeet Reserva- B 769 796 431

[p.13-A]

family has given nine dollars to the 796
White Swan drum (in honor of the 852
child's first formal dancing). 431

3:20 A drum from the Blood (Blackfoot,
Alberta) reserve. This dance honors 554
R— R—, and is sponsored by his 796
parents. An older man who frequently 431
acts as herald in the South Piegan ceremonies (and whose younger relative is the powwow announcer) carries a large colored photograph of R— R— as he slowly circles the arena with the R— family. Only one elderly woman is in Indian costume, although most women wear dancing shawls. At the second circling, two girls in costume join them.

3:26 The herald stops in front of the announcer's booth, holds up the portrait of R— R—, and orates in
Blackfoot. (Announcements are [191]
usually made in English and Blackfoot, jokes and comments in Blackfoot alone at the Blackfeet Reservation powwows. English is often used alone for announcements at the Canadian powwows we have attended.)

3:29 Piles of blankets and bed linens are 769
brought in, in quilts and large car- 796
tons, for the W— B— giveaway.
The B— family, including Mrs. B— 431
in a wheelchair and her adult grandson wearing the late B—'s impressive buckskin costume and feather bonnet, remain on the sideline while the distribution is supervised by another woman who directs women and girls carrying the goods to recipients. The announcer mentions that N— A— gets a Hudson's Bay blanket (which is expensive) and a pair of moccasins. The name of another recipient is called out, and someone responds that his daughter is present [to take his gift to him]. No other names are called aloud.

3:40 The Blood drum sings a slow war dance. The younger B— women join the dance. There are more dancers now than earlier in the afternoon.

[p. 19-A]

girlhood. Gifts were presented to visiting B
friends and relatives and distributed at Grass 431
Dances, she recalled, but the modern
ceremonial form had not yet crystallized. 178

The chairman of the Blackfeet Tribal Council, a man a generation younger than Mrs. B— and her cousin but well informed on tradition, corroborated Mrs. B—. "No, giveaways don't go real far back," he said. "In the old days, people went to the lodge at which goods, not money, would be given away. It would not have been blankets so much in the old days, because they didn't have so many blankets, they really held on to them when they got a blanket." The chairman supported our impression that the number of giveaways has been increasing in recent years.

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The formal modern giveaway seems to
have developed from the nineteenth-century 121
and probably earlier, practice of distributing 431
gifts to validate leadership roles. Wissler 178
(1911:23) emphasized that "no Blackfoot can 157
aspire to be looked upon as a head man
unless he is able to entertain well . . . and 554
make a practice of relieving the wants of his
less fortunate band members. He who can
meet all such demands soon acquires a place
in the social life of the band . . . Great deeds
in social and ceremonial life would alone
elevate one to the status of a head man."
Wissler added (*ibid.*), "This phase of their
social life is very much alive, having survived
not only the changes in economic conditions
brought about by the reservation system but B
the direct opposition of its officers." Mrs. B— [533]
described a custom in her youth, "doorway
singing," when small groups would serenade
householders, who if ambitious could demonstrate fitness for leadership by generously
rewarding the singers honoring them (v.
Wissler 1913:460).

Powwows today represent the reduction B
of a variety of nineteenth-century social C
gatherings to one or a few annual events 796
planned by a regularly constituted committee,
and often underwritten by a grant from the 178
tribal or band council. The number of these 177
scheduled powwows has increased with the 431
increase in Indian population and the associated increase in reservation emigration and economic assimilation into the Euro-American regional or national (urban) structure. The powwow is modeled upon Euro-American

did. The composition of a band could be perceived, however, in winter by the clustering of tipis in valley-bottom camps isolated from other band encampments, and in summer by their clustering in sections of the tribal circle at Sun Dance rendezvous. When the reservations were established, bands became hamlets. The population doubling of the past quarter century has blurred the boundaries of networks, in part of younger Indians seeking employment elsewhere when hamlet lands could not support additional families farming or ranching, in part by government housing programs erecting new homes on tracts selected without regard to network centers. The giveaway distribution list supplants the traditional residential clustering as a delineation of the Indian communities' basic transfamilial unit[illegible]

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The third function of the modern Norhtern Plains giveaway is status ranking. The amount and value of goods given should roughly reflect the value of the honored person to the community. The grand gesture of giving away horses in honor of Miss Alberta Indian Princess indicates the prestige brought to the whole reserve by the young lady's triumph; the extended giving in honor of longtime tribal councilman W— B— and of committeeman Swimmer was congruent with the services rendered by these gentlemen. Conversely, the smaller giveaway for S— A— the young dancer, and the mere five dollars donated by Mary G— at her grandson's first powwow dancing were proper considerations of the lesser statuses of these younger persons. The giveaway is not supposed to be an arena for overt competition for status through lavish giving. Mrs. B—'s daughter proposed holding a giveaway to honor her parents while both were alive, but her father-in-law advised her that a giveaway without a status-change occasion would be "showing off." A giveaway in good taste validates status but does not itself materially alter it.

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There are obvious similarities between the Northern Plains giveaway and the Northwest Coast potlatch. Both are public proclamations of status claim, both use blankets as tokens. Drucker and Heizer's (1967:8) statement, "The potlatch must be regarded as a formal procedure for social integration, its prime purpose being to identify the member-

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[P. 24-B]

B /
C ship of the group and to define the social status of this mem-
171 bership," could apply to the giveaway. The principal differ-
431 ences between the two ceremonies appear to be, one, that the
potlatch validates ascension to hereditary status but the give-
554 away to achieved status, and two, that the potlatch is dealt by
bounded social units (clans), the giveaway by fuzzily-circum-
scribed units (networks). These distinctions should not be
too heavily weighted, for in fact, every Northern Plains reser-
vation has its "leading families" whose members are more likely
to be accorded high status, and the Plains networks have at
their cores relatively stable descent groups functionally com-
parable to clans.

000 Codere's (1961) analysis of the Kwakiutl potlatch saw it
B as a post-contact phenomenon, a response to the influx of wealth
C and disturbance of population balance resulting from the engulf-
171 ment of the Kwakiutl by Euro-American society. The similarity
between the potlatch and the giveaway may extend to their very
431 origins as rituals developed from more diffuse ceremonial giving
178 when the loss of Native autonomy altered social conditions,
creating a need for an unambiguous declaration of Indian affil-
B iation. To stress the traditional components of these rituals
C is to fail to see the forest for the trees. The giveaway, and
121 perhaps the potlatch, as a named formal ritual is a construct of
post-contact Native American communities.
431

CONCLUSIONS

Sahlins has commented (1972:181) that "Anglo-American[s]... presume an eternal separation of the economic, having to do with getting and spending, and besides always a little off-color, from the social sphere of moral relationships." Northern Plains giveaways require getting and spending, but among the Blackfoot and Plains Cree, at least, they are not primarily economic institutions. Instead, in these communities the giveaway can best be understood as a sign-function of social bonds, a code in which goods are words.

B This paper does not pretend to be thorough either as de-
C scription or as analysis of Northern Plains giveaways. My
[128] familiarity

apparently in reference to bringing the bison 224
over the drive cliff or into the drive enclosure,
dependent upon the means that was used.

Other individuals who took part in the drive
included (1) the scout, who from a hill near
the fall or corral warned of the approach of
the herd, and (2) the hunters, who when thus
notified, then manned the rock piles that
formed the drive-lines. There is some evidence [701]
to indicate that the oldest Blackfeet
soldier society may have had a role in policing [625]
the camp during the drive. This suggestion
has been disputed by some informants who
claim that the band was so homogeneous in
character and responsive to cooperative
endeavor that no such coercion was required.

The physical components of the drive 417
included (1) two or more lines of spaced rock
piles that converged upon the point of 224
concentration, and (2) the cliff or corral where
the animals were either disabled or confined.
The type that was employed depended, in the
Blackfeet country, largely upon the terrain. If
a cliff of sufficient height could be found as a
terminus for the stone drive-lines, a corral was
not necessary. Alexander Henry (Henry and 175
Thompson 1965:725) has a relevant statement 417
about the Piegan in this respect: 224

> So much do these people abhor work that, to avoid the trouble of making proper pounds, they seek some precipice along the bank of the river, to which they extend their ranks and drive the buffalo head-long over it.

Henry, it may be pointed out here, was [170]
most accustomed to the Assiniboine method
of impounding buffalo, in which a corral was
an invariable part of the drive.

Now we can return to the runner; there is 224
some indication among the Blackfeet that the
runner's role was institutionalized. Those [171]
familiar with the runner among Central
Woodland tribes may recognize some similarities
here. Because of his important role [554] ●
in providing food for the band, the runner
enjoyed considerable respect and attention
among his people. One gets the feeling that
the runner's position in the pre-horse period
was comparable to or even overshadowed
that of the successful horse raider of more
recent times.

The runner seems to have been a young, unmarried man who underwent extensive training to harden his body, to build up his endurance, and to develop speed in running.

276 Their owners[A] were called pipe stem bearers,
554 and the position was one of great distinction. The pipe
[756] stem bearer was regarded as a medicine man, had power to
[778] quell frays and disorders that none would gainsay, took
precedence even of the chiefs in treaties and councils, and
their lodges were places of refuge to which the criminal of
[302] every grade could fly and be safe from harm. They were
to be distinguished by a braid of hair in the center of the
forehead, which hung down before the face, and they
painted the face in a peculiar manner by a red cross down
the nose and across the forehead and a red or green spot
[415] on each cheek. The pipe was kept in a skin case painted
[782] red, and was only taken out upon important occasions and
then with great ceremony, the assembled people sitting
[824] quiet, grave and attentive, while the bearer made incense
by dropping dry cedar leaves upon live coals and chanted
in slow time a guttural song accompanied by peculiar
276 movements of the arms. These pipes were all very old, apparently
778 handed down through many generations until the
occasion that had conferred upon them their peculiar virtue
[756] was lost even from tradition. A pipe that accident might
have shown seemingly to possess unusual power could be
dedicated as a sacred pipe by a convocation of medicine
men but it was a privilege rarely exercised. There were
only about half a dozen of them in each band of the Blackfeet
[782] and these were held in great veneration. Indeed, they
might almost be termed the Bible of the Blackfeet and to
swear upon the Sacred pipe was the most binding oath a
[761] Blackfoot could make. Perjury or disregard of the obligations
[784] of such an oath was believed to be followed by instant
[422] death. The ownership of these pipes might be transferred
[437] by barter, but their bearers were seldom willing to
[435] surrender the dignity they conferred. In value they were
computed at about nine horses.

RELIGION

775 The Blackfeet believed in a Great Spirit who is all-powerful
[776] and good and has allotted to them an existence
after death. The future life they think is to be passed
at a point in the Saskatchewan, which they call the Sand

A, [i.e., owners of the Medicine or Sacred pipe--Analyst]

those Indians in any manner, and, in 648
case they should, to make full compen- 728
sation therefor. 175

They were directed to recognize Mr. [554]
Bird as United States Interpreter and to
place confidence in what he should say
to them on the part of the Commissioners. [114]

They were requested to make arrangements to collect at "The Writings", on Milk River, in 12 days from this time, and appoint the place they would move to, within five days of the Fort, where a messenger could meet them with news of the time and place of holding the Council. They were recommended to continue hunting in the meantime, and supply themselves amply with meat.

In reply, the Chiefs unanimously expressed great satisfaction at what they
had heard. They were glad to hear these [123]
things from an old friend because now they could believe them. Were willing to meet the Crows and try and make Peace with them, would pledge themselves for their safety, and that they should go home on as good horses as they came on. The same with regard to the Western Indians.

They would collect at the "Writings", as I proposed, and move slowly to Maria's River, whence they could easily reach the Fort in five days. They were glad to have Mr. Bird as an Interpreter, because he spoke their language well and they had confidence in him. They already had a good supply of meat, but would make more so as to give some to the "Soldier Chiefs", the Forts and other Indians who were poor. The Chiefs then said they wished to inquire concerning some bad stories that had been told them and which had given them much trouble. The following appears to be the substance of the most important one.

When the Piegans, Bloods, Blackfeet and Gros Ventres were encamped together near the Cypress Mountains[11], some time in July last, intending so to remain until the period of holding the Blackfoot Council and attend it in a body, some Blood Indian warriors came from Forts Benton and Campbell to the camp and stated that a white man at one of the Forts had told them that three

[p.22-A]

796 785 sides, thinned toward the ends but not sharpened, and about this long. [Scraping White indicated a distance of about 2 inches between his thumb and forefinger.] Then sinew was wrapped around the ends of the skewers and they were tied, each skewer to a 4-strand plaited rawhide rope. The two ropes were fastened at their far ends to the center pole at its forks.

796 785 782 [535] I stood up and Yellow Horn told me, "Now you walk up, put your arms around the center pole and pray. Tell sun, now your vow is being fulfilled." I did just as he told me. Then I stepped back. Yellow Horn pulled hard on the rawhide ropes attached to the skewers. Then I danced. I didn't dance long before my flesh gave way and the skewers pulled out. Yellow Horn came to me and cut the skin that had broken. He trimmed it off even. Then he gave me the pieces of skin he had cut away and told me to take them and stick them in the ground at the base of the center pole, saying, "Now sun, I have completed my vow."

785 Heavy Head's narrative of his torture experience was still more detailed:

726 721 785 There were only two of us, Buffalo Teeth, my partner, and I. We went to war together to take horses. At Medicine Hat we found a small camp of Cree half-breeds. It was night when we saw their camp. It was moonlight. I looked up at the moon and prayed to it, "I shall be tortured at the sun dance if I have good luck and get home safely." Then I stole up to the camp and got one bay that was tied in front of a lodge without any of the enemy waking or seeing me. Buffalo Teeth took a roan. We started back to the Blood camp, traveled three days and three nights with no food other than a black rabbit. We got awfully weak and hungry.

785 554● [533] [796] When I reached home I told my story to my father, Water Bull. The old man got up and sang his encouraging song. Then he told me, "My son, you have done something worth doing. You have made a vow that you will be tortured at the sun dance. You must do it this coming sun dance."

787 752 A few days later I went out to the east point of Belly Butte to fast. While I fasted I dreamed that a sacred person came to me and gave me a drum and certain herbs to use for doctoring. Then I returned home.

785 796 A short time after that the bands began to come together for the sun dance encampment. I prepared myself to go to an old man named Little Bear, a relative of mine, who had been through the torture himself, years before. I

321
412

68. Spoon of mountain sheep horn.

in the 1780's, small parties were accustomed to travel to the mountain valleys in the fall "to hunt the Big Horn Deer as their horns make fine large bowls and are easily cleaned." 321 224 175

To make a horn spoon, a horn of a buffalo or bighorn was thrown into a fire to fry out the gluey matter. Then it was taken out and, as soon as it was cool enough to handle, it was trimmed with a knife to the desired size and outline of the article for which it was intended. Next the horn was softened in boiling water to make it pliable. A stone of the desired shape was inserted in the bowl, and the handle was bent at the proper angle or arc and weighted down with rocks. The whole spoon was wrapped in skin or cloth until cool. Then the weights were removed, and the properly shaped, rigid spoon was nearly finished. All that remained to be done was to smooth the surface with a sand rock, grease it all over and polish it with the hand until it shone. 321 412

Feather Bonnet Making

The old style feather bonnet of the Black- 292
feet has a crown of vertical feathers, in [237]
contrast with the Dakota type of feather
bonnet in which the feathers point upward
and backward from the wearer's head. The
traditional Blackfeet type is known as the
"straight-up bonnet." In former times only [554]
acknowledged leaders were privileged to
wear it. Headdresses of this type were part [575]

[P-59-B]

122 up onto the stage (is that what you call it in a church?) and slamming hymn books onto the floor.

Earl eased into his sermon by pointing out that this building had in past been the seat of both Christian worship and pagan rites—and a few drunken parties—and the sermon proper wound around the virtue of following a course of sobriety in the face of poverty and frustration. Earl freely admitted his own bibulous history, and [273] indeed most of the Indian men of my acquaintance—and quite a few of the women—have had a drinking problem at some time or other. All the more credit to them, I say, for having overcome it. Even brother Jim squandered a portion of his quixotic youth in jousting with gin-mills and slaying the evil flagon.

Earl is an uncommonly articulate person, and although he made numerous supererogatory references to "The Word," "The Faith," and a few other evangelical "The's," I was greatly impressed by the general content of his message. However, he pulled the well-meant but profoundly annoying small-townism of asking the visitor to stand up and introduce himself and say a few words, and although some people no doubt enjoy this kind of thing it is one of the reasons that I hesitate to visit small churches. God knows you are there, so why turn the whole thing into a sewing bee by taking a bow! (I am reminded of the dowager who arose grandly to tell the congregation—composed largely of Texas stock-breeders and their families—how happy she was to see that so many of them had devoted their lives to "servicing" God.)

122 After the service, I was introduced to the members of the congre-
848 gation, and this I appreciated. One man, a huge chap, is one of the Chief's sons, and I sort of wish that brother Jim would clue me in on such minor details of existence as his having a few other brothers trotting about the Reservation. I think it quite natural that I should have endowed my patriarchal Indian dad with all the purity of Montana snow, but apparently the snow drifted a bit during its younger days because my new-found brother, it was explained to ● [554] me, is one of the Chief's "under-the-blanket" children. But of course this fact has no effect at all upon this chap's social status on the Reservation. Some of my White acquaintances—all of whom cleverly prearranged to have themselves born in legal wedlock, but a remarkable number of whom were premature babies—would make smoke with such petty kindling, but the Blackfoots couldn't care less. Nor could I. This man appeared to be in his fifties, which would make him about fifteen years older than Jim.

the hi-yi-yi's. I miss so *much* by not knowing music! Music doesn't 122
miss much by not knowing me, though, because when I secretly recorded 533
some of the Blackfoot songs Jim has taught me, the playback [126]
sounded like background music for a Hitchcock film and I hastily erased the tape. Indian music is not so simple as it sounds.

The Pipe Dance is a religious ceremony, customarily held each 122
year after the first thunderstorm of spring. This year, luckily for me, 796
the dance was postponed until the present date. I have not been able to establish definitely the reason for the postponement, but there are rumors that a polio scare discouraged all public gatherings earlier in the year. I do know that the movie house was closed for a while.

But by the time we returned to Starr School, to Jim White Grass' house, people were beginning to arrive for the Dance. Cars and trucks of all descriptions—from ancient jalopies to brand new station wagons—were pulling into the yard. One car had a decal on the rear window which read, "Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Browning, Montana," and a sign in luminescent tape on the bumper which declared, "JESUS SAVES." As a matter of fact, there are quite a [794]
few "saved" Indians on the Reservation, and I do not think it particularly paradoxical that the best Christians among them are the same ones who are most faithful to the ancient Indian beliefs. In Blackfoot there are many words for God.

For a while Jim and I watched silently as the cars and trucks filled the yard and then began to spill over onto an adjoining lot, then finally Jim shook his head once, in a characteristic gesture, and said, "In old days you see at these dances there was nothing but wagons and horsebacks. Now-days you don't see." (To Jim, "the
old days" refers to any time prior to the end of W.W. II, for it was [554]
not until the post-war period that the automobile replaced the horse as a prestige symbol here on the Reservation. To the Chief, on the other hand, "not long ago" means any time within his memory span, and "just recently" suggests any time between W.W. I and the present.)

When I picked up my shirts at the local laundry, the Norwegian 122
who runs the place confided, "I came out here from North Dakota 602
to get away from too many relatives. Then I married an Indian girl and so now I've got twice as many relatives as before." I know what he means. I am a Blackfoot by adoption only, but I have yet to meet an Indian who is not in some way related to me. However, this profusion of in-laws is attributable only in part to the endogamous social structure of the community; a fair portion of my rela-

539 of the Blackfoots and the chiefs of the Snake Persons would
648 meet at the Big River. [The Chief used the term, *Ó-mach-k'tai:*
[103) Big River, and since this is the Blackfoot name for the Missouri
River, I believe that the reference was to the Missouri and not
to the body of water located west of the Rockies which is today
known as Big River.] When they met in the water of the
Ó-mach-k'tai, the chiefs of the two nations would count coup by
[555) touching each other lightly with their lances. Each time they
touched one another they would shout their coups back to their
own camps, and that night each camp would have a victory
celebration as though there had been a real battle instead of
just a friendly ceremony. The next day, the two nations would
exchange gifts, and then each would go its separate way,
singing.

539 It was customary in those days that when the Blackfoots had
[291) a dance each girl should dress in the manner of her husband
or sweetheart; in this way, everybody could tell whose woman
she was. The men displayed their war honors by decorating
[554) their belongings with the white winter skin of the weasel [the
[825) Blackfoots believed the weasel to be the most courageous of
all wild animals], and by wearing in their hair the feathers of
[301) the hawk and of the eagle. But since it was not proper for a
woman to wear feathers, the Blackfoot ladies attended the
dances with their hair decorated instead with braids of *ah-pu-tú-yis* [white grass].

There was at this time among the Blackfoots a young man known as Áh-pi-koh-koh-mi-nim-mah: Round Scabby Robe. Round Scabby Robe was pretty much the camp buffoon; he was not a good hunter, he had no war honors, and his only robe was a scabby old hide which he had cut into the shape of a circle. Round Scabby Robe was too poor to take a wife, but he was secretly in love with the youngest wife—the "far-away" wife—of the head chief, and she in turn was in love with Round Scabby Robe.

595 [Although a Blackfoot man—especially if he were a chief—
might have several wives, his various spouses were not con-
539 sidered to share positions of equal privilege in his lodge. A
definite hierarchy of both social prestige and household authority existed among the good ladies, top dog being the "sits-by-him," wife (so called because she was the one who sat nearest her husband at social and religious functions). Next in line was the "takes-care-of-him" wife, and so on down the ladder until

461 ments) and in the long run (8 statements). Among those who approved of it there was some hesitance regarding the adequacy of their knowledge (4 statements).

The most important objection to the activity was some of the Blood's perception of it as a dirty job (6 statements). Other reasons for rejection were lack of knowledge (4 statements) and lack of experience (3 statements). From these few objections or rejections it can be seen that the young Blood see Automechanic as a highly desirable and pargmatic instrumentality. They select primarily on the basis of practical econcmic criteria, the training received in shop courses, and on the basis of applied experience.

[492]
[554] Today, the horse has been relegated to the spheres of luxury transportation and status indicator. His role in Blood nomadism has been usurped by the pick-up truck. At the Sun Dance, at nearby Indian Day celebrations, and even at the local rodeos and stampedes, the horse is outnumbered by pick-up trucks and autos. The young Blood recognize this in that they see Automechanic not necessarily as an economic career but as a personal skill. For example:

> (Automech.) It's something like a hobby. I like doing that; fixing cars to accomplish your own thing. I've got my own tools.

000 is success not identity that the young Blood seek. They do not,

> . . . talk primarily about the aspects of these occupations that might best be called their implications for a style of life. . . . on how a lawyer, doctor, or engineer and his family live rather than on the character of his work.[3]

461 What occupation or avocation means in terms of total life style is the least of the young Blood's concerns. The family of a Bronc Rider or an Automechanic does not enter into the picture. His concern is what can the activity do for him, what he can achieve through the activity. He cannot visualize, or at least such vision is irrelevant, implications of occupation beyond a number of specific goals. Furthermore, these goals are generally relevant to his community, the Blood Indian Reserve.

A Successful Blood

554 What is relevant to the Blood Indian Reserve in terms of goals is the image of a successful Indian (it is doubtful that many young Blood think of success in a transcultural setting). The successful Blood cannot be easily defined until the totality of the I.A.I. data has been surveyed. Yet, it is apparent from the discussion of the highly popular or acceptable I.A.'s that there are some criteria of social success among the Blood. Some of these may be tentatively identified. A successful Blood should have a

554 ready cash income and a relatively secure financial future. This cash and security should come primarily from his skill, his ability, rather than from investment or inheritance. 555 The successful Blood must then exhibit some mastery over the artifacts and occupants of his trade or home environment. He would do well to demonstrate this mastery through his skill in handling livestock or skill in some other outdoor [461] occupation. This outdoor occupation should have as concomitants activity, excitement, healthy manual labor, and the successful Blood should epitomize the results of such activity.

Rejected Instrumental Activities

461 The relevance of this tentative interpretation can be reinforced by examining the attributes of the frequently rejected instrumental activities. If some of the activities that are rejected exhibit the success goals discussed above, or if some of the attributes of the popularly acceptable activities are prominent among those of the rejected activities, then the profile must be modified. If the acceptable attributes are missing or are portrayed in negative terms, we shall then be able to proceed to listing young Blood instrumental values.

Bartender.--Most prominent among the rejected I.A.'s is Bartender. Thirty-three informants (83% of the sample)

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

461 One of the points illustrated by the above quotations is the wide range of interpretations put upon Office Work. This would seem to indicate that Office Worker is not well integrated into the organization of the young Blood's value system. Indeed, Office Worker receives an interesting interpretation by some of those who choose it. It is seen as administrative rather than entrepreneurial by some.

> (Off. W.) Maybe work up here at the Indian Office. Maybe. (Question--Why?) Maybe help the Indians. Solve their problems and all that.

Office Work is also seen as a vehicle to personal recognition.

> (Off. W.) I like to meet a lot of people like that, to make some friends. Make a good name for the Indian. To get a lot of respect from the white men so that they can look up to the Indian.

In both of these cases the young men appear to be placing a
● 554 semi-traditional interpretation on Office Worker. To help
461 others is to be generous (one of the ten frequently cited
reasons for accepting an I.A.), and to have recognition is
to be of some social consequence. Also, to provide an object
of admiration for white men is also an emphasis of achieved
status. These young Blood seem to be characterizing Office
Work as a status, a status related to the man of political
and social consequence of the past--the generous, helpful,
successful man. The fact is that today most of the Indians

461 employed as office workers are employed by some unit of the
554 Federal Government or local Indian administration. Thus, in fact, persons who do hold these positions do have manifest political power from being associated with the white administrators and their decision making. Because the position is politically powerful, it does allow the occupant of the position to dispense charity and to have both self esteem and recognition. From this, and from the dispersal of opinion about Office Work, it can be seen that it is not thought of as it might be in white society, and that it is not wholly subsumed by the Indian value system. Therefore, although the activity is generally well known, it is poorly understood. It, too, is an emergent I.A. as is Automechanic.

461 It is the more "Indian" judgments, as expressed in the pattern derived from the popularly acceptable I.A. choices, that appear to be most influential in the acceptance or rejection of Office Worker. Money, ease of occupation, long term economic benefits, these must overcome the general dislike for indoor occupations and the dislike of inactivity. Also, the consistent concern over knowledge and experience is reflected in the young Blood's comments on the intellectuality of the occupation. Therefore, despite poor understanding, misinterpretation, and the lack of fit between the occupation and the Indian value system, Office Worker is

461 can do so. Thus, in contrast to Office Work, Haying
● [554] cannot do much for one's status. Ranchers, cowhands, farmers,
nearly all Blood have hayed or do hay every year.

Haying fits nicely into the patterned orientations
outlined in the previous chapter. It is an unrestrictive,
active, masculine, immediately rewarding occupation.
[554] However, it is lacking in two important aspects. Haying does
not provide for one's future nor does it provide any recognition or self esteem. It is moderately popular on the general level, and, remarkably, it is the second "favorite" following Automechanic. This again illustrates the practical aspect of Blood valuation. Haying is an applied skill, albeit an Indian one. As maintained above, Haying provides the means of doing things, but nothing else. Haying is also something that everyone knows how to do. Because it is well known and has few prerequisites, it has a high potential for success; at least for its promised rewards, money and good health. Thus, Haying further illustrates the aspect of Blood pragmatism that was mentioned in regard to Automechanic and Ranching. One chooses "favorites" on the basis of success potential and what one can conceivably do. This success potential is composed of one's abilities, experience, and opportunities. Haying, as a commonplace is high in this potential. However, as mentioned above, it promises little in the way of permanent reward, financial or social.

461 above and the presence of this specialized task in the roll of "favorites." This favoritism conflicts with the proposition that the young Blood choose their "favorites" on the basis of success potential. However, as a relatively noninjurious, exciting, and widespread sport, it should be
529 ranked high by the young men of the Reserve. Today, there
541 is a Blood Indian roping club, composed of both adults and
517 young men. Its "jackpot" roping events are well attended by both the young men and the more proficient adult practitioners. Thus it is thought to be a "favorite" because of the desirable social and experiential aspects of the activity and not to be in conflict with the assertion that "favorites" are generally of high success potential. The Blood value this activity because of its athletic and competitive nature, because it is not highly injurious, because it fits closely the casual and free pattern of the stock raising complex, and because a number of Blood have been and are now successful at it. For example, at a recent All-Indian Rodeo in Browning, Montana, most of the recipients of "day-money" or the major prize money in Calf Roping were Bloods.

461
554 It is felt, therefore, that Calf Roping is another example of the powerful pull of the Ranching-rodeo value orientation. These activities share attributes that are generally valued by the Blood, and it is felt that the Blood

461 consider it better to be successful at these activities than
554 to be successful in the other more practical and possibly
non-Indian activities.

461 *Chicken Dancer*.--Office Worker and Chicken Dancer
conclude the list of acceptable activities despite its af-
[554] finities to white-man culture. Easy work was cited in
reference to preferring Calf Roping, and, as will be seen,
matters of personal pride and recognition will relate
Chicken Dancing to Office Worker. With this comment we turn
to Chicken Dancing.

535 It is noticeable that Chicken Dancing, more generally
[541] called "fancy dancing," is an aesthetic endeavor. Through-
out western Canada, Indian Days, rodeos and stampedes feature
[796] this kind of dancing as a part of the entertainment. It
[361] also occurs at the more religious Sun Dance ceremonies on
the Blackfoot Reserve at Gleichen, Alberta and at the Blood
Sun Dance. There it is one of the social events surrounding
[554] the sacred Medicine Lodge ceremony. Chicken Dancing at the
Indian Days and rodeos is often rewarded with prize money in
much the same pattern as the rodeo events, but at the Sun
Dance participation and the admiration of the spectators are
the only rewards.

535 Twenty-two individuals held an opinion on Chicken
461 Dancing, of whom thirteen, or fifty-nine per cent, favored it.

535 the learned and practical activities such as Automechanic
461 and Carpenter. It is a medium for demonstrating skill and
[554] ability in an Indian frame of reference, and, because of this it is related to social acclaim, personal esteem. This would indicate that general valuation covers both the equestrian and traditional activities. Also, like Calf Roping, as a potentially valuable social achievement, it is among the activities listed as "favorites." Here again is an example of the necessity to succeed in an activity for it to be of value to a specific individual. In Chicken Dancing one competes or participates only when the likelihood of embarrassment is slight.

The Less Frequently Cited Rejects

461 As among the acceptable activities there is a gradual decline in expressed opinion among the rejects. The activities discussed here elicited less opinion and less solid rejection than the ones already discussed: Bartender, Store Keeper, Cook-Baker, Boxer, and Office Worker. Indeed, Office Worker belongs among these I.A.'s, but it was discussed in relation to Haying because of its dual nature.

Barber.--Beginning with Barber we note that, of the twenty-six informants expressing an opinion on it, seventeen reject it. They do so because they see it as boring and confining (13 statements), they feel that they lack the knowledge

461 Clergy, 20; Politician, 20. This places them near the activities labeled "no response" or ambivalent activities in Table 10. Thus one would not be wrong in holding some reservations about the opinions expressed in rejecting these activities.

In the case of Politician, however, seventy per cent of those persons holding an opinion viewed it negatively. This would indicate that only six persons in a sample of [554] forty saw it as acceptable. The reasons for rejecting Politician are lack of knowledge (15 statements), general dislike (13 statements), lack of experience (7 statements), distrust of politicians (3 statements), distrust of having to wield authority (3 statements), and the limited possibilities for recognition in this role (3 statements). Ambivalence toward these reasons for rejection were expressed in terms of general valuation (3 statements), and because of insufficient knowledge for a decision (3 statements).

Discussion

From the foregoing it appears that there are some similarities between Doctor, Priest, and Politician in the eyes of the young Blood. It does appear that these activities are less well understood than any other activities discussed as acceptable or rejected. This in turn relates to the fact that all of the persons who occupy these positions

175 [554] related to the "fine dandies" indicates the concern with appearance and the active physical life. And, the physically strong man of seventy did not continue to pursue the active life but one of leisure, a sure sign of personal success.

702 175 In the past, this active life concerned activities outside of the rodeo arena and boxing ring.

> They all marched off very quietly, as if for hunting. After they were gone, the old man said that it was not a war party, but one of those they frequently sent, under the guidance of those who had shown courage and conduct in going to war, for we cannot afford to lose our people, we are too few, and these expeditions inure our men to long marches and to suffer hunger and thirst. At the end of about twenty days they returned with about thirty-five horses in tolerable condition, and fifteen fine mules which they had brought away from a large camp of Snake Indians.[16]

In this quotation two major facets of early Blood-Blackfoot life are illustrated. First, of course, is the physical [826] conditioning aspect of this "training raid." The Indians are ensuring that their young men are physically fit to fight when the time comes, a strong motive for valuing the physically strong and active man. Secondly, and more importantly, the aspect of practical know-how appears. It is central to the whole passage. The young men marched off in the company of an experienced man to learn the trade of war. The learning of this aspect of Blood-Blackfoot culture could not be left to chance, and thus, these parties were sent out frequently. Beyond this point is the obvious fact that the party

175 The first quotation alludes to the active equestrian
178 outdoor life so attractive to the contemporary Blood, the
second to warfare, which is no longer a function of young
Blood life. However, active masculine competitive "sports"
are. Today the young man may exhibit his prowess through
rodeo activities and athletics as well as through the kind
● [554] of occupation he chooses. In the early 1800's all young
[578] men went on the warpath while today young men are enjoined
to achieve in the masculine activity arena. The bygone
quarrel over a woman was an ever present threat in early
578 Blackfoot life and remains so today.[36] One was and is ex-
178 pected to fight to protect what is his own. For example,
in the I.A.I. responses among forty young men only eight
had "no experience" fighting, and this appears only to apply
to the more formal aspects of Boxing.

Summary

175 In the above comparisons and from the quotations of
178 Thompson and Henry the analogies and persistences in attitude
181 and behavior are clearly visible. Thompson records instances
or provides inferences of the contemporary concerns with
know-how or its lack, the function of shame and lack of recog-
nition, the necessity to choose between manliness and injury,
the concern with personal appearances, and the dual mani-
festation of the active physical life. Henry was excluded

626 (this is also true in the previous anecdote) and with the
562 dependence of one sex upon the other for conformity to non-shame provoking role behavior.

554 This concern for role conformity is an aspect of
562 the Peigan (and Blood) institution, the "manly-hearted woman."[48] This is a special and recognizable role for women which allows some of them to take on some of the role behaviors of men, behaviors such as social and sexual aggressiveness, economic assertiveness, outspokenness, and exhibitionism. These are some of the key behaviors of men who might aspire to Blood success, and, not surprisingly, the number of women who could aspire to this role were few. Shame was a strong barrier to achieving "manly-heartedness" because not a few of the expected behaviors were characteristic of women of easy virtue and poor disposition. The woman aspiring to "manly-heartedness" risked rebuke and shame for her personal aggressiveness and her active sexuality, she risked loss of status for her economic role and her outspokenness, and, finally but far from least, she ran into direct conflict with men attempting to act toward her as they should act toward any woman. Thus it can be seen that the institution "manly-hearted woman" evoked social strains on both the
[626] female role player and her male kinsmen and friends. It is another instance of shame being the primary device of social control.

000 and chance. But there was only limited jealousy and compe-
575 tition between social sets, whereas the various age-grades
561 [574] were as groups deemed rivals. Obviously institutionalized generosity and hospitality were important during this period.

> ●554 175 He came singing, waving his rifle; he halted and said: "What happiness, this running and killing buffalo. I killed eight. How many, you?"
>
> "Five. We have killed too many; the meat of four will be a big load for our wagon. The rest will be wasted. I take shame for us," I said.
>
> "Not so. We should have killed more. I forgot to tell you that I told some of our people camped back of your tradehouse to trail us and we would give them of our kills. They will be here. We should have killed more."
>
> This made me feel better. As we were butchering one of my kills, our teamster came and got busy, and a little later a number of Eagle Head's Blackfoot friends and relatives arrived, men and women with pack horses and travois horses, fell to work--happily chattering and singing as they plied their knives. They were all old men and women, some of them widows, and sincere in their praise of us for giving them of our kills.[57]

Here we find praise associated with sharing one's bounty, and conversely shame was the result of waste. Recognition was related to economic security and to generosity, and, of course, such success in hunting as in anything else comes
782 from skill, experience, and some diligence. Schultz also
175 notes that generosity was also associated with worship,

> . . . Nat-ah'-ki said: "How good was the Sun to keep us unharmed through this great danger." I am sure she voiced the sentiments of all. The next day I noticed that the trees and high bushes bordering the river were bright with the people's offerings or sacrifices to their god. They always gave of their best, their choicest and most prized ornaments and finery.[58]

578 687 762 525 175 The story concerns a young man engaged by this compulsion to gamble but faced with a disastrous losing streak. Schultz remonstrates with him,

> "Just think how much you are risking; what a shame it would be were you to be set afoot, no horses with which to move camp, not even one for your woman to ride.[61]

[554] [157] Gambling losses are reckoned along with shame and other status determinants, and therefore, it is apparent that the unusual gambling bent is somehow related to increased status competition.

At any rate, the young man would not stop. "I must play again with him, and I'm sure I will win. I shall pray. I shall make a sacrifice. I must win." And, "I can't stop until I have won back all that I have lost."[62] The young man stayed in the game, trying to recoup lost goods and lost prestige.

He was reduced to destitution, whereupon his competitor suggested the following:

> . . . I will bet everything I have won from you against your woman." The loser accepted this final challenge and, "Begin!" he cried to his adversary. "We will play. We will play for her," and he added under his breath, "for her and for another thing." Again the young man lost, and his adversary demanded immediate possession of his winnings. The young man acquiesced and the following scene transpired.
>
> "There she is!" the Fisher (loser) exclaimed, pointing to the couch where the woman lay completely covered with a buffalo robe. "There she is," he continued, "but you shall never touch her. I am going to kill you, to make a sacrifice of you here in her presence."[63]

181 mystical. They are direct and immediate. Thus the young Blood sees the practical side of success in specific terms
[554] too. He views wealth, cash in hand, ownership, health, attractiveness, physical ability, mastery over man and machine and the like as rewards in themselves. Abstract concepts such as personal power, travel, social atmosphere and life style do not concern him. Life style and the rest are secondary to the practicality of a successful man. The good life is a significant part of the young Blood's world view, but he sees its practical components rather than its overall configuration.

Practicality in the Past

181
175 The various forms of practicality can be found in the historical date. Practical success is the dominant theme of the Old Man's remonstrations with his son and his comrades in Thompson's narrative.[A] If one is going to engage in war, it should not be foolhardy adventure but practical economic success that motivates the individual. Bringing home horses, staying in the vicinity of an enemy camp, discriminating conduct in battle all are valued by the old man, presumably because they lead to manifest success. However, such practicality was not always in evidence; for example, the attach upon the bear.[B] But, even in this case, the

A, B. [See Category 175, pp. 144-145 & 149-150 respectively--Analyst]